

The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

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THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

ALL reports agree that the twelfth week of the war—October 21 to 28—saw the most desperate fighting since the outbreak of hostilities.

In western Belgium the conflict has been so near the coast that the Allied fleet has been able to take part in the destruction. In one place, Dixmude, the Germans are said to have made eight assaults in the same night at great cost, but without avail. The despatches from the Meuse are meager, but indicate a new desperation in the French attempt to drive the Germans from St. Mihiel. The French have resumed the offensive in the neighborhood of Nancy, and claim substantial gains. They seem also to be pushing their campaign in Alsace once more. On the eastern battle line—whether one chooses to believe the despatches from Berlin and Vienna or from Petrograd—it is evident that the combat increases in fury.

THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS

No definite result has yet been reached in the campaign between Arras, in France, and the English Channel. The line has hardly fluctuated in the last ten days. Both sides have been rushing reinforcements to this district, but neither has as yet established any overwhelming supremacy. The Germans have announced a gain in having crossed the River Yser in the face of the Belgian army. They forced the Belgians back here, as they did in the earlier days of the war, with overwhelming numbers. But as we go to press there is no evidence that they were able to cross the river in force, and some despatches indicate that they were driven back.

The losses on both sides are said to be appalling. Neither army is willing to settle down to a defensive; both are trying desperately to advance. It is possible that they

could "dig themselves in" and produce a deadlock here as they have done on the Aisne, but neither side is content to accept "a draw," although a drawn game, here as elsewhere, amounts to a victory for the Allies.

But that both sides are making a supreme effort, not to hold this line, but to push forward, is indicated by all the despatches. There is little doubt that the Germans are concentrating here all their available strength. Telegrams come from several places in Belgium telling of large reinforcements and heavy artillery being rushed to the front. If the Allies check them, it would practically end the danger of further German advance into France; the French Government would probably move back to Paris; there would be little chance of a serious German offensive for several months; and by New Year's the Allies would be appreciably stronger than to-day. By that time the Germans will probably have organized a new field army. It is, however, doubtful if Germany will ever be able to maintain a larger army in this western campaign than she now has. However, the Allies do not seem content to check the Germans; they also are bent on advancing.

The more desperate the condition of the Germans, the more they will be tempted to risk great losses to accomplish some impressive victory. Their whole theory is based on aggressive warfare. The moment they stop attacking, all their primary advantage of superior organization is lost. And the longer the campaign lasts without a signal triumph, the more imperative it is for them to maintain the aggressive.

For the Allies the situation is different. While there is always a certain tactical advantage in the offensive, as one cannot, of course, win a battle without attacking, and while the French have strong reasons for trying to

drive out the invader, still time fights for the Allies, and sound strategy should make them prefer a safe defensive to any grave risk.

So a desperate offensive proves very little about the condition of the Germans; it is to be expected of them. But the vehement aggressive of the Allies points to great confidence and superabundant strength.

Compared to previous engagements, compared even to other points along the battle line from Switzerland to the Channel, this campaign in Flanders does not seem to offer sufficient strategic importance to justify a supreme effort. Either side can be forced back a good many miles—the German right to Ghent or the Allied left to Calais—without disaster.

The intensity of the present struggle in Flanders is probably due to other than military reasons. The moral effect of victory here will be great for either side. Unless Germany can show some definite gain soon, she will find it increasingly hard to raise money. Her military machine is exceedingly expensive. It is being financed partly, no doubt, by patriots, but more by bankers, proverbially cosmopolitan, who expected the army to win. They had invested in a Victory machine. And unless the army begins to produce results, to declare dividends, new stock issues will fall flat.

Some German merchants have tried to pay their debts to Swiss firms in the paper of the new German war loan. If the Germans were besieging Paris, if their army had overwhelmed the Allies, as for a while seemed possible, the Swiss merchants would have accepted these Imperial treasury notes. As it is, they have refused them and have appealed to their Government, which is making diplomatic protests at Berlin.

How money is raised for these vast armies is a mystery to a layman, but it seems evident that, if nothing succeeds like success, nothing is harder to finance than failure. A victory for the Allies in Flanders would make it easier for them to float loans. A German defeat might force Imperial bonds down to a point at which the Government would be seriously embarrassed.

This and similar considerations may explain why both sides are fighting in Flanders with unprecedented desperation.

THE BATTLES OF POLAND AND GALICIA

It became evident during this twelfth week of the war that the Germans had suffered a severe reverse in Poland. The newspapers

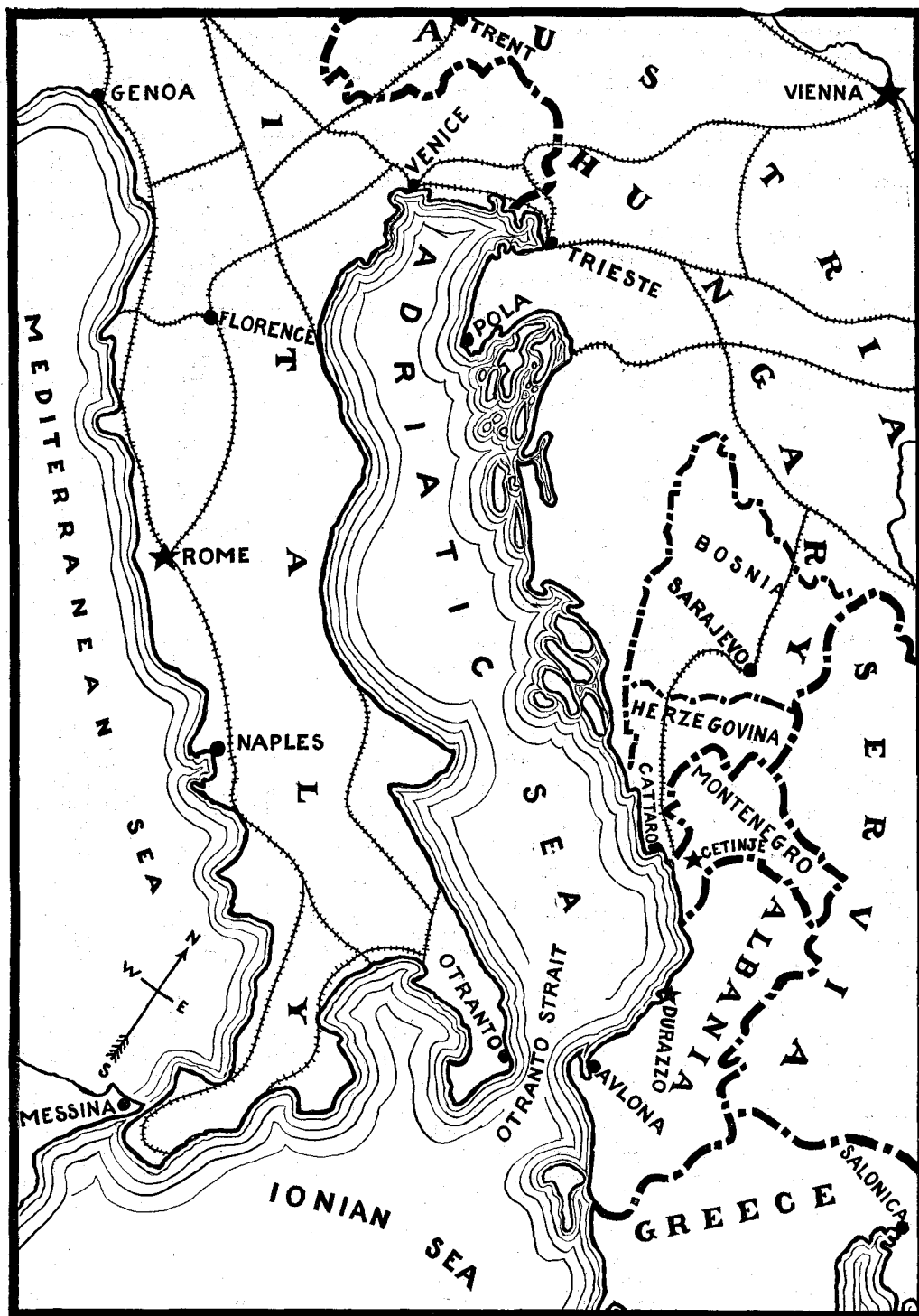
of October 14 announced that Warsaw was threatened. Two weeks later, while the exact position of the Germans is uncertain, they are at least fifty miles west of Warsaw, and some reports say they are making desperate efforts to escape from their pursuers and reform on the line of the Warta. The Russian Central Army was slow in getting into action, but when at last it was ready it struck hard and effectively.

The despatches are still too scant to reconstruct the details of the engagement, but, with the information at hand, it seems that—leaving out of account East Prussia, where both sides claim victories but no substantial advance—the Russians have been faced by three Austro-German armies. The first army on the north, probably all German, seems to have advanced towards the Vistula on a broad front stretching from twenty-odd miles north of Warsaw to the Pilitza River, at the south of that city. The second army—the Center—composed of Germans and Austrians, extended from the Pilitza to the Galician frontier. And south of this was a third army, mostly Austrian, but commanded by Germans, with a front from the frontier to the Carpathian Mountains.

The first German army was badly defeated a short distance to the west of Warsaw by a heavy frontal attack, combined with a wide enveloping movement of Cossacks, who got past their left flank to the north. Their retreat was rapid to save their lines of communication. They were driven back fifty, perhaps a hundred, miles. But, in spite of the bad condition of the roads, they may be able to save the bulk of their forces and to reform in strong defensive lines, as the Germans stopped their retreat on the Aisne in France.

The fate of the Army of the Center, to the south of the Pilitza, is still uncertain. The fighting there is at its height. The retreat of the Northern Army leaves their left flank exposed; and even if they are not actually defeated, they may have to retire as far as the Northern Army.

The farther south one goes, the vaguer is the news. Daily despatches from Vienna claim that the reformed Austrian army is everywhere victorious. They apparently have regained much of the ground they lost at first. The two armies seem to be facing each other across the river San. The fortress of Przemyśl is still being bombarded by the Russians, and which army occupies Jarosław is uncertain. It is probable that the Russians



DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY RUDOLPH SCHOENE

STRATEGIC POINT IN THE ADRIATIC

This map shows the commercial basin of the Adriatic and the significance of the Italian occupation of Avlona. The Straits of Otranto are less than fifty miles wide; the navigable channel is much less. All the seagoing commerce of Austria-Hungary will have to pass under the Italian guns. Cattaro, which is now being bombarded by the Allied fleet from the sea and by the Montenegrins from land, is the southernmost Austrian port. It is the rail-head of a long line through the Slavic provinces. Trieste is the main Austrian port.

consider the Galician campaign of secondary importance, and that they have withdrawn troops from there to concentrate against the Germans in Poland.

The Russian victory before Warsaw is their greatest achievement so far. They have met the German army—conceded by every one to be the finest fighting machine in the world—and have signally defeated it. The Petrograd despatches tell of many thousand German soldiers buried by the victors on the battlefield. On this battlefield the Russian army has also buried the memory of the Yalu River and Mukden.

Of course the exuberant Petrograd despatches are probably exaggerated. But the very silence of the Berlin War Office is eloquent tribute to the Russian success.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE GERMAN WAR OFFICE

The "Journal de Genève," the principal newspaper of Switzerland, publishes in its number of October 7 an interesting statistical analysis of the "official" announcements issued by the German War Office. While our communications with Berlin have been dependent on wireless, the Swiss have had normal telegraphic and mail news from Germany.

From the 4th of August to the 6th of October the authorities at Berlin issued eighty-nine statements—forty-three during August, thirty-nine during September, and seven in the first week of October. Of these, sixty-three referred to the western campaign and twenty-six to the Russian border. Only one, the 18th of August, admitted a slight reverse. Two divisions had been driven back at Schirmeck in Alsace and had lost their artillery.

During the eight days of the Battle of the Marne, September 6 to 13, the German War Office issued four statements:

1. Sept. 7. The Kaiser was at the front before Nancy.
2. " 8. Maubeuge had fallen.
3. " 10. Detachments along the Marne had encountered superior forces, had held them in check for two days, and, finding that the enemy was heavily reinforced, had retired, taking with them fifty captured cannon and several thousand prisoners.
4. " 11. The Crown Prince's army had captured a fortified position south-west of Verdun, and the siege of that fortress had begun.

This was all about the Battle of the Marne until September 14. The communication of that date said: "The operations, of which the details cannot yet be published, have led to a new battle which is favorable to us. The news spread by the enemy is false."

The same reticence was preserved in regard to the eastern campaign, between the 25th of September and the 3d of October, when the Russians under General Rennenkampf were driving the Germans back from the Niemen across the East Prussian frontier. The official announcements either reported German victories or that the situation was unchanged. Apparently the words "fail," "defeat," and so forth, have been erased from the dictionary of the German War Office.

GERMAN UNANIMITY

Although the Kaiser has said that he no longer recognizes any political differences in his realm and sees only Germans, although the Chancellor and the Ambassador to Washington and Dr. Dernburg insist in all their speeches on this surprising unity among the German people, we have had reports now and then of the suppression of various newspapers whose views did not correspond with this official unanimity. The "Vorwaerts," the organ of the Social Democrats, the largest single party in the Reichstag, has been suspended several times; according to the latest reports it has been permanently suppressed.

I have been unable to secure copies of the incriminated issues of the "Vorwaerts," but "Le Temps," of Paris, publishes translated excerpts from it. "Le Temps," like the London "Times," is a paper of dignity and does not often knowingly publish a hoax.

According to this authority the "Vorwaerts" was suspended on the 27th of September for an article entitled "Germany and Foreign Lands." "Le Temps" translates it *in toto*.

The reason for German unpopularity beyond the frontiers, according to this article, is that "this country of so great an economic development is at the same time the country which has given as a gift to its working class the anti-Socialist laws, and, after their repeal, a police régime full of chicanery. Civil equality existed only on paper."

The passages which seem to have been especially offensive to the authorities were the following:

"It has appeared to foreigners, as it has

to the toiling German masses, that Germany is, above all, the nation of militarism and political oppression.

"For this reason it has been difficult to win the sympathy of neutral nations. This explains why even among the working classes of foreign lands regrettable manifestations have taken place. And we must regret them, for they hold the German people responsible, as a collectivity, for what is only the work of a class. . . .

"The foreign comrades may be assured that the German working class disapproves of all predatory policies to-day, just as it always has, and that it is determined to fight—as far as circumstances permit—against all covetous assaults on other peoples.

"The foreign comrades may be assured that, if the German workers defend their Fatherland, they do not forget on that account that their interests are the same as those of the proletariat of other countries, that like them, against their will, in spite even of their repeated and formal demonstrations in behalf of peace, they have been drawn into the war."

On the 1st of October, three days later, the "Vorwaerts" reappeared, with the following official letter on its first page:

The lawyer Hugo Haase, member of the Reichstag, accompanied by the director of the "Vorwaerts," Richard Fischer, member of the Reichstag, came to ask me to reconsider the edict of the 27th of September [ordering the suspension of the "Vorwaerts"]. The condition which I imposed was that, given the unanimity of the German people since the outbreak of the war, the "Vorwaerts" should in the future abstain from bringing up the theme of the class struggle and hatred. By a letter of this date Herr Haase declares that the managers of the "Vorwaerts" have resolved to edit the "Vorwaerts" during the duration of the state of war [martial law] in conformity with the condition imposed by me and to take the necessary measures to observe this condition.

In these circumstances I declare myself ready to reconsider the Order of Suspension pronounced against the "Vorwaerts" on the 27th of September. I further demand that this letter be printed at the head of the next issue of this paper.

GENERAL VON KESSEL,
Commander-in-Chief, Berlin.

These texts are possibly somewhat distorted in their double translation, but they throw light on the reasons for which the military authorities of Germany have had to limit, and at times suppress, the expression

of opinion among a people who are "officially" unanimous.

SOUTH AFRICA

On the 27th of October news reached us that the Boer insurrection on the Orange River frontier had been defeated, and that its leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, had fled across the border into German territory. On the 28th a graver revolt is announced. The rebels have seized Heilbron, a small town near the center of the colony. No information is given as to the size of the disaffected force, but its leaders are hosts in themselves. General Beyers was, until the outbreak of this war, commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. He threw up his commission rather than fight the Germans. The name of General Christian de Wet carries even greater weight. No other one of the Boer commanders caused the English troops more trouble than de Wet. He is very much of a national hero for the Dutch element of the South African Union, and while he may not be able to draw many of his old comrades in arms into open rebellion, it may be very difficult to persuade even loyal Boers to march against him.

AVLONA

On a preceding page is a map of the Adriatic. The newspapers of the 27th gave small space to the despatch from Rome that announced the landing of Italian marines at Avlona. But the redemption of Trieste and the Trentino would hardly mean more to Italians than the occupation of this marvelous harbor. If nature had called in trained engineers to help her, she could not have designed a better naval base than Avlona. All the war-ships of the world could ride at anchor there and—once it has been fortified—all the navies in the world could not force their way in.

The Straits of Otranto are to the Adriatic what the Straits of Gibraltar are to the Mediterranean and the Straits of Dover to the North Sea. With Italy in control of Avlona—she already has a fortified base on her side—Austria ceases to be a naval power. The one commercial port of the Teutons on the warm seas is at Trieste, their one naval base at Pola, both at the extreme north of the Adriatic—at the bottom of a cul-de-sac of which Italy now controls the mouth.

Once upon a time the Adriatic was a Venetian lake, and ever since the Turks conquered the Dalmatian coast the Italians have dreamed of regaining their control of

the Adriatic. Avlona is the key. But Austria was just as anxious to control the Straits of Otranto. To avoid fighting over it, the two nations entered the Triple Alliance with Germany. To make assurance doubly sure they signed a dual treaty on the side, in which they both pledged themselves to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula. Neither felt strong enough to take Avlona, so each made the other promise to keep hands off.

When the Austrians took Bosnia and Herzegovina—a step in the direction of the coveted port—Italy protested, but did not feel strong enough to fight.

When the Christian Allies of the Balkans tore up the *status quo*, Italy was in an embarrassing position. The Greeks laid claims to Avlona. Italy drew closer to Austria in a joint project—the creation of a principality of Albania. This appealed to Austria as a blow at Servia, and by this scheme the Italians kept the Greeks away from the Straits.

The Bulgarian and Servian diplomats, who were then working in concert, framed up a deal at this stage, of which the history has

not yet been written. Its object was to pry Italy loose from the Triple Alliance—it probably had the approval of the Powers of the Entente and may even have originated with Russia. Greece has a surfeit of coast line and no special interests in the Adriatic; she wanted territory more than harbors, so she was to give up her claims to Avlona. The harbor, and enough of the *hinterland* to protect it, were offered to Italy on condition that she should flop to the Balkan side in the Albanian controversy.

But for Italy to have occupied Avlona at that time meant immediate war with Austria. Her hands were full with the work of pacifying Tripoli. The Marquis di San Giuliano, the Foreign Minister, felt that his personal honor was involved on the side of the Triple Alliance. So Italy refused the bribe.

The Marquis di San Giuliano is dead. Austria is too busy to be dangerous. And Italian marines have landed in Avlona. Their mission is said to be one of mercy. But the chances of their ever leaving Avlona are about on a par with the prospects of Great Britain's giving up Gibraltar.

New York City, October 28, 1914.

THE WEEK

THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

When the Sixty-third Congress adjourned on October 24, it had completed a notable record for endurance. It had been in continuous session since April 7, 1913, a period of 567 days.

President Wilson called the Sixty-third Congress into extraordinary session a month after his inauguration, and this extra session merged into the first regular session on December 1, 1913. When the final curtain fell, neither the Senate nor the House had a quorum present as the vote for adjournment was taken. Only eighty-three Representatives and about a dozen Senators held on to the last. So impatient were these few remaining members to get away that in both chambers resort was had to the time-honored prank of meddling with the hands of the clock.

More than eighteen thousand pages of the "Congressional Record" have been filled by this Congress—a longer history than any preceding Congress ever wrote for itself. In

other ways, too, this body has been concerned in the upsetting of tradition. At the instance of President Wilson, its members reverted to the old practice of holding joint sessions of the two houses to hear Messages presented in person by the President. Furthermore, Congress adjourned, for the first time in the memory of old inhabitants of Washington, while the President was absent from the Capitol.

WHAT CONGRESS HAS ACHIEVED

The Sixty-third Congress has been one of the busiest in the history of the United States, and, whatever criticism may be brought against it, that of idleness—save in the case of certain absentee Congressmen—does not fairly apply. The presence of Democratic majorities in both houses after the elections of 1912 gave the President a free hand, and few Executives have so held together and dominated the legislative body as he has held together and dominated the Sixty-third Congress.

The most determinative transactions of the

Congress, and those upon which the success or failure of the Democratic party in the future most depends, are, of course, the important measures in its programme of financial and economic reform, the revision of the tariff, the income tax law, the establishment of the Federal Reserve system, the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill, the Trade Commission Act, and the bills still pending in the Senate to regulate stock exchanges and to regulate the issuance of railway stocks and bonds. Then the Smith-Lever Act granting Federal appropriations to aid in the establishment of farm bureaus throughout the several States, the law for direct election of Senators, the Industrial Employees' Arbitration Act, the Alaskan Railway Act, the bill passed by the House for the development of water power on navigable streams, the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry, the modification of the Aldrich-Vreeland Law to make easier the issuance of emergency currency, the appropriations for relief of American citizens stranded in war-involved Europe, the War Revenue Bill, and the tax on transactions in cotton futures, are all important measures. The repeal of the Panama tolls exemption clause will not soon be forgotten by the political opponents of the Democrats.

Of perhaps less internal significance are the arbitration and peace treaties ratified by the Senate. More noteworthy is the appropriation of half a million dollars to fight hog cholera, and the passage by the the House of the Philippine Bill and the bill for leasing gas, coal, oil, potassium, and sodium lands.

For the enactment of laws which it promised to the Nation by its platform the Democratic party must receive credit even from its party foes, whether they agree with the policies enacted or not; on the other hand, the Democratic party cannot escape responsibility for its failures—notably the failure to live up to its professed desire for real economy. A great deal of the legislation, in this as in other Congresses, has been the work of men of all parties.

LOCKING THE STABLE DOOR

The plan put forward last winter by the Republican National Committee for reforming the basis of representation in the party convention has now been ratified by a majority vote of the party conventions of the several

States. Of the States that have considered the question, Texas alone voted against this proposed revision of Republican representation. Under the new plan the total representation in the National Convention of 1916 will be reduced by eighty-nine votes. Alabama will lose 8, Arkansas 3, Florida 4, Georgia 11, Louisiana 8, Mississippi 8, New York 2, North Carolina 3, South Carolina 7, Tennessee 3, Texas 16, Virginia 8, Hawaii 4, Porto Rico 2, and the Philippine Islands 2.

That even this reformed plan of representation is not wholly satisfactory to the more liberal-minded Republicans may be judged from the following quotation from an editorial in so good a Republican organ as the New York "Tribune":

The reform effected does not cut as deep as it should have cut. It leaves a great deal of unjustifiable inequality in the distribution of voting power, and gives too much encouragement to the sort of Republicanism which in certain parts of the country exists only for the purpose of producing National Convention delegates.

Yet it will do a good deal to lessen the scandal of "rotten borough" control of the machinery of the National party. The delegations from the States in which the Republican party is only a stalking-horse for capturing Federal patronage under Republican National administrations will exercise much less of a balance of power than formerly, and Republican policies will not be shaped by the controlling influence of merely nominally Republican constituencies.

The reason for the "Tribune's" partial dissatisfaction—and we think its complaint fully justified—is that the new plan for representation is still in some measure based on geographical rather than political units. Under the amended rule there are still districts in which the representation is grossly large, taking into consideration the number of voters having a voice in the election of delegates. Each delegate from South Carolina, for instance, will, on the basis of the vote cast in 1912, represent but 134 voters. Delegates from New York State, however, will probably represent the desires and opinions of well over five thousand voters. It can hardly be said that, so long as such unfairness exists, the "rotten borough" system in the Republican party has been entirely destroyed.

If even only this moderate change had been made before, the whole course of the political history of the United States would have been altered. Now that it has been made, it is

not only inadequate but belated. Nevertheless, such as it is, it ought to be welcomed as a step toward a larger measure of self-government.

THE CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS

Lacking all legal and legislative power, the seventh annual Conference of Governors, which meets at Madison, Wisconsin, from the 10th to the 14th of this month, may nevertheless have great force as a means of influence and persuasion. Having as its aim the promotion of greater uniformity in State legislation and of greater co-operation between the States and the Nation, it may well be what President Wilson called a former Conference which he attended as Governor of New Jersey—"a new instrument of political life, National in its character, scope, and intention; an instrument not of legislation, but of opinion, exercising the authority of influence, not of law."

The Outlook has long advocated a higher degree of uniformity in State legislation, pointing out especially with regard to industrial improvement that the chain of States is no stronger than its weakest link, and that it is difficult to get any State to pass needed legislation so long as the lawmakers of other States hold back on the particular subject in question. Almost every big industrial dispute in this country within the past two or three decades has brought out the fact that States are backward in alleviating by law unfortunate and unjust industrial conditions so long as such conditions are allowed to exist in competing States. The argument that proposed legislation will injure home industry at the expense of competing industry in other States is nearly always conclusive with legislators.

These considerations are true in regard to almost all subjects of State legislation—banking, taxation, divorce, etc. How absurd it is that a man who inherits stock in an inter-State railway, for instance, may be subject to an inheritance tax in one State in which his testator died, in a second State in which the stock was on deposit with a trust company, in a third State in which the railway was chartered, and in a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth State, perhaps, through which the railway passes.

By making the operation of laws elastic through the use of administrative commissions, the value of uniformity in legislation

may be retained, and at the same time allowance for conditions which vary with the different States. Familiar examples of such commissions are the public service commissions which administer laws regarding public utilities, and labor commissions which administer laws regarding wages and conditions of labor.

The overlapping of Federal and State functions is almost as great an evil as the conflict and unconformity of State legislation. Such an organization as the Conference of Governors can promote harmonious action between the Nation and its constituent States.

IN MEXICO

No further confirmation of the report, to which The Outlook alluded in its issue of last week, that Villa has massed troops for the purpose of overawing the conference at Aguas Calientes has come to us from Mexico. In fact, the American consular agent, Mr. Carothers, has telegraphed word that Villa said he had purposely withdrawn his forces from the vicinity of the conference so as not to appear to be coercing the assembly. Be that as it may, perhaps Villa's attitude towards the Carranza faction may be judged fairly by the following ultimatum recently issued over Villa's signature:

Venustiano Carranza has offended the honor and dignity of our Republic by his usurpation of the supreme powers under the pretext of acting in the bounds of the First Chief. I have watched his actions, and I can no longer endure the caprices of an old man who seems to have no more lofty motive than his own selfish ambitions. He had leagued himself with the Cientifico element in order to further his ambitions, and my generals and myself have agreed that we can no longer tolerate such action by one who claims to represent us.

Unless he is removed from his self-appointed position as the *de facto* President of Mexico, I promise, with the consent of my commanders and my people, to go to Mexico City and remove him by force.

Villa's laudable and professed intention of exerting no force upon the delegates in conference at Aguas Calientes seems practically to be somewhat similar to the still more laudable and justifiable intention of the old Quaker who had covered a chicken thief with the muzzle of his gun. "Surely," said the thief, "you wouldn't shoot me. You're a Quaker." "Well," came the determined reply, "I'm going to shoot right where thee

stands. If thee don't want to get shot, get away quick."

General Carranza, after reciprocating by giving an equally candid opinion of Villa's administration in the northern part of Mexico and of Villa's personal character, has now offered to resign. According to the opinion expressed by a well-known supporter of Carranza, we are to presume that his resignation, conditioned upon the similar retirement of General Villa, is offered without relation to any threats that may have been made, solely to prove the disinterestedness and patriotism of General Carranza! Carranza's supporter is reported as saying, "The followers of General Carranza are willing to let history judge us by this act of disinterestedness on his part, for we can make no greater sacrifice in the interest of peace and patriotism." It may be simply a coincidence, then, that this opportunity for patriotic self-sacrifice was discovered only after Villa's reported ultimatum.

THE SEIZURE OF AMERICAN SHIPS

British cruisers have recently seized and detained three ships of American registry carrying cargoes from American ports to neutral nations. One of these, the *Brindilla*, gave satisfactory proof that her destination was Alexandria, Egypt, and she was therefore released. The second, the *John D. Rockefeller*, bound for a Danish port and carrying illuminating oil consigned "to order," was likewise detained until evidence was afforded of the neutral destination of her cargo and the intention of the Danish Government to prevent re-export. The case of the oil steamer *Platuria* is still under investigation, for there is a question of the ultimate destination of her cargo.

In the case of the *Brindilla* and the *Rockefeller* two questions of international import have arisen. First, were the destination and the character of the cargo transported by these vessels such as to make them seizable as contraband of war? Second, were the vessels themselves of bona-fide American registry? It will be remembered that these two steamers were among the fleet of American-owned but foreign-built vessels which was transferred to the American flag after the declaration of war, in accordance with the American registry laws as recently revised by our Congress. At the time of the passage of the Registry Bill, it will also be

remembered, there were many authorities who believed that its provisions would not and could not be recognized by the belligerent nations. As most of the ships transferred under this bill were changed from German registry, the Allies are naturally most concerned over the legality of this measure. Nevertheless, England has in these two cases declined to raise this point for contention. Doubtless she has done this from a desire to avoid irritating American public opinion by interfering with American trade. This point of law may not be finally settled until some case arises that vitally affects England's position as a belligerent.

In reference to the first question raised, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador to America, has said in an official communication to the State Department:

I think it would be opportune were I to make some remarks on the general question of contraband and the attitude of the British Government.

You are doubtless aware that in the last few weeks there has been a marked increase of the export of certain articles as compared with previous years to those neutral countries which are in direct communication with the belligerent nations. . . .

As you are aware, the Supreme Court of the United States in 1863 considered vessels as carrying contraband, although sailing from one neutral port to another, if the goods concerned were destined to be transported by land or sea from the neutral port of landing into the enemy's territory. It then decided that the character of the goods is determined by their ultimate and not their immediate destination, and this doctrine was at the time acquiesced in by Great Britain, though her own trade was the chief sufferer.

I may observe, in conclusion, that, although the British Government have detained cargoes of contraband in order to make sure that they are really intended for neutral countries, and have retained some cargoes, such as copper destined for Krupp's ammunition works, they have not yet taken a single cargo without paying for it, and have allowed every cargo really destined for neutral countries to proceed to its destination.

The question of the seizure of ships destined for Danish ports by England has been raised in the Parliament at Copenhagen by the query of a member as to whether the Government could guarantee that corn and foodstuffs imported from America were not re-exported to Germany. The Danish Premier replied that the Government was ready

to guarantee to England that no illegal exports from Denmark would occur. The Premier added that investigation proved that rumors of recent illegal re-export were unfounded.

That oil is contraband if destined for a belligerent seems indisputable, since it is as indispensable in modern warfare as coal, or even as arms and ammunition. The way by which Americans can best understand the merits of this case is to imagine that we were at war with Mexico and that English shippers were sending arms and ammunition to Guatemala.

A UNIQUE AMERICAN HOSPITAL

In the midst of the terrible carnage, brutality, and suffering of the European war it is comforting now and then to remember that the awful conflict has its finer side. It has brought out the unselfish and altruistic qualities of human nature as well as the qualities of primitive savagery.

One of the most striking examples of this fine side of the war is found in the "American Ambulance" in Paris. There has been some confusion in this country on account of the name of this institution. The word *ambulance* in French means a military hospital. The American Ambulance Hospital, which has been organized and is being managed by Americans, is lodged in the building of the Lycée Pasteur in Paris, a Government building which on the outbreak of the war was turned over to the administration of the hospital. The interior of the building was redesigned and reconstructed for its present hospital use by an American architect, Carroll Greenough, of New York, now living in Paris. The medical, surgical, and nursing staff of the hospital is composed entirely of Americans who have volunteered their services. Dr. Joseph Blake, the eminent New York surgeon, for example, is one of those in charge. The head of the hospital is Dr. Winchester Dubouchet, an American in spite of his French name. He was formerly at the head of the American Hospital of Paris, an institution of many years' standing. Even the orderlies are American young men, many of them art students, who have temporarily abandoned the brush and pencil for dish-washing! The professional nurses are largely American. Many American women who have not had a hospital training have volunteered their services and may be seen in uniform doing such work as making bandages and performing

other necessary and useful duties which do not require technical training.

As may be seen from the illustration on another page, the ambulances of the hospital are Ford motor cars. These cars were donated to the hospital while in their original shipping cases. As most of the mechanics of Paris had gone to the front, young Americans attached as volunteer workers to the hospital took these cars from their cases and used the lumber of the cases to make the ambulance bodies as shown in the illustration. Military and hospital experts in Paris have pronounced these ambulance bodies, made in this emergency fashion, to be the best of their type, and they are now being copied by other hospitals in France.

The general verdict of European experts who have seen the hospital in operation is that it is the only one of its kind in existence. Its reputation has become so extended that the word has been passed along among the officers of the Allies on the fighting lines that, if severely wounded, they should ask to be sent for treatment to the American Ambulance Hospital.

The institution is wholly neutral, and the patients are wounded soldiers without discrimination of race or military affiliation. Naturally, as it is within the lines of the Allies, its patients have been chiefly French and British; but some of its inmates have been German soldiers. While the troops were fighting in the neighborhood of Paris during the first German advance the ambulances of this hospital went to the battlefield and collected the wounded. As a matter of fact, they were the first ambulances on the scene.

A GOOD EXAMPLE OF EFFICIENCY

The American Ambulance Hospital has several features which probably have never before been employed in a military hospital. One of these is the use of ultra-violet rays for sterilizing water. There are three ultra-violet sterilizing plants in the hospital with which water is prepared not only for drinking purposes but for the antiseptic bathing of wounds.

Another unique work is the keeping of accurate histories of every case that comes into the hospital. Complete records of all patients and of all operations are kept by volunteer clerical help. Such records have never been possible before in military

hospitals because the necessary time and the necessary clerical force have been lacking. The American Ambulance Hospital is so organized that at the close of the war it will have a collection of surgical histories of the most difficult cases which will serve as textbooks for surgeons throughout the world, and which will be the product of American doctors working in an American hospital.

The work of the American Ambulance Hospital has not only its scientific and altruistic value, but it is accomplishing much in cementing the bonds of internationalism. Mr. Robert Bacon, to whom we are indebted for many of the facts here presented to our readers, and Mr. Myron Herrick, the American Ambassador in Paris, are of the opinion that nothing more effective could be done to promote a good international understanding than the carrying on of this work. Every French and British soldier, every soldier from distant parts, every German who is treated at this hospital, will carry away with him recollections of American efficiency and American humanitarianism. President Poincaré, of France, has cabled his appreciation of the hospital to President Wilson, and the Governments of the Allies have been so interested in its work that they have offered to bear a part of the expense by paying so much a day for the maintenance of each wounded soldier. This offer, however, has been declined by the hospital administration, because it believes that by relying entirely upon American contributions it can best retain its independence and neutrality.

The committee in charge of the hospital ardently desires to raise five hundred thousand dollars immediately to maintain the work. The few Americans now living in Paris have themselves raised one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The money that has so far been contributed in this country brings the total to about two hundred thousand dollars, leaving a balance of three hundred thousand for which contributions are urgently requested. With the money in hand the hospital is maintaining four hundred beds. The building and the staff can take care of a thousand beds as soon as the required funds are obtained. Contributions should be sent to Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., 23 Wall Street, New York, who will remit the money by cable to Paris. Americans may take a justifiable pride in the efficient part which their country is taking in the war through this humane instrumentality.

AMBASSADOR HERRICK

It is fortunate, not only for this country, but for the people of other lands, that from the beginning of the war the American Ambassador at Paris has been Mr. Herrick. During the days preceding the outbreak of hostilities he rendered great service under conditions that called for wisdom, discretion, frankness, and foresight. When, on the 31st of July, the die was cast, Mr. Herrick was all prepared for departure from his post. The Embassy was dismantled. The Ambassador's trunks were packed. That was on Friday. He was expecting to leave on the following Monday. Mr. Herrick is still in Paris.

Mr. Herrick's foresight is illustrated by the fact that even before war was declared between any of the nations except Austria and Servia he had already communicated with the United States Government with regard to the transportation to the United States of the thousands of Americans who, he foresaw, would be caught in the meshes of a general European conflict. To-day he is the representative in France of whatever Germans may be in that country as well as of Americans, and he is remaining in Paris in spite of the fact that the French Government has moved to Bordeaux. His experience and his personal qualities cannot be inherited by his successor.

There is no known reason why any change should have been contemplated except that there happened to be a change in party control in the United States. How absurd and dangerous is the practice of allowing party politics to control diplomatic appointments is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that in this crisis the expected change in Ambassadors did not take place. If party policies have anything really to do with diplomacy, it is at a crisis like this that those policies should be enforced. The fact that political considerations have lapsed at this time of peril is alone proof that party policies have nothing to do with diplomacy, and that changes in ambassadorships with changes in parties have no relation to the welfare of the country, but are governed by private or political considerations.

Nevertheless, there is now already in Paris another man waiting to take Mr. Herrick's place. The only reason why he is there is that Mr. Herrick is a Republican while he is a Democrat, unless some personal reason concerning Mr. Herrick's own convenience

exists of which the public knows nothing and which so far has not prevented Mr. Herrick from remaining at his post.

If the United States diplomatic service is ever to be made the safeguard to this country that it might be and ought to be, a fresh beginning in making it so would be to recall Mr. Herrick's successor and to keep Mr. Herrick where he is and where he ought to remain.

THE NEWS OF THE WORLD

The greatest shock which the nightmare of war has given the world was the sudden discovery that while it has been buying and selling, learning, thinking, writing, and painting, and conducting the most intimate relations of life as one community, it is still made up of separate parts which on the instant may fly apart. This is an intolerable situation; but it exists, and the world is compelled to recognize it through many losses, inconveniences, and miseries.

The transmission of news from all parts of the world has been brought to such a stage of efficiency that it is not easy to put one's self back to the time, fifty years ago, when news from country to country was fragmentary and dilatory. Not much more than half a century ago Julius Reuter, a German, who knew no English and had no capital, but who had courage and faith in a great idea, opened a small office in the heart of London. He had conceived the idea of creating a center for telegraphic information from all parts of the world; and he went to England because political opposition in Germany presented insuperable obstacles. He was aided, as men of energy and imagination are often aided, by events. The laying of the first cable across the Atlantic put a wonderful instrument in his hands. He saw the immense possibilities for news collection and transmission opened up by the cable. At that time the various countries of Europe were so afraid of the possible effects of rapid exchange of news that they did not allow the building of international telegraph lines. The wires ended at a fixed distance within the boundaries of each country. Since the war began travelers have learned the inconvenience of trains which cannot cross frontiers; in many cases they have been compelled to walk long distances over territory which they once crossed without interruption. When the first telegraph lines were established,

telegrams were carried over the frontiers by post. Reuter promptly tried service by carrier pigeons, with unsatisfactory results.

In England his enterprise met some newspaper opposition, but no obstacles were placed in his way by the Government, and he soon made himself an indispensable accessory to the press. From the beginning, with German thoroughness, he strove for absolute accuracy. The battles of Magenta and Solferino, in 1859, were the first battles of which the European press received telegraphic reports. Reuter at that time had representatives in the three armies—Austrian, French, and Italian. During the Civil War in this country, before the cables were laid, his despatches, inclosed in air-tight cases, were sent to England, received by small vessels off the coast of Ireland, carried to the nearest landing-place, and then transmitted by private telegraph wire. When President Lincoln was assassinated, the mail steamer conveying the news had already sailed. Reuter's launch overtook it, put the despatch case on board, and the event was known in London a week in advance of the receipt of official information. When the war between Germany and France a generation ago broke out, Reuter had become such an international institution that Prince Bismarck himself announced the fall of Napoleon III to a Reuter correspondent.

A JAPANESE NEWS AGENCY

Both the United States and Japan have suffered greatly from the very imperfect and inaccurate transmission of news between the two countries. The necessity for the establishment of additional methods for the transmission of accurate news is becoming more and more insistent, and last year a group of influential Japanese headed by Baron Shibuzawa, one of the most prominent financiers and one of the most public-spirited men in Japan, organized the "Japanese International News Agency," represented by Mr. J. Russell Kennedy, an able and experienced journalist, who was for a number of years the representative of the Associated Press in Tokyo. The new agency, by a combination with Reuter's, aims to receive and to convey full and accurate reports of events, and the newspapers of Japan are now receiving fuller news from all parts of the world than formerly.

It is only necessary to say in regard to the International News Agency that it is in no sense under Government control; that it has

received no subsidy from the Government; and that it is not aided by governmental financial support. It is conducted upon a purely business basis, and is supported by the newspapers which it serves. These include many of the foremost Japanese newspapers and a majority of the newspapers published in foreign languages.

A RESIGNATION DECLINED

The newspaper report, accorded greater credibility than it apparently deserved, that a man named Clarence Wiener had threatened to cut out of his will a bequest of ten million dollars to Harvard University unless Professor Münsterberg immediately severed his relation with the University, has given Harvard an enviable opportunity of striking a telling blow for the spiritual independence of American educational institutions. The fact that no one for an instant expected that the Harvard authorities would pursue any other course than the one they adopted detracts in no way from the credit due the University they represent. Not a very long time has elapsed since certain individual American colleges have been accused, perhaps not without reason, of having derived their purses and their opinions from one and the same source. Perhaps the impertinent suggestion of Mr. Wiener has been useful at least in calling public attention to the dominant note that now exists, not only in Harvard, but in an overwhelming majority of American educational institutions.

In the instance under present discussion Professor Münsterberg, who has expressed himself with more frankness than tact in the defense of his native country, made himself *persona non grata* to Mr. Wiener, who, it is reported, thereupon made the threatening suggestion to which we have referred. Following this, Professor Münsterberg, more from the dictates of tact than from necessity, promptly offered his resignation to the University. The Harvard authorities then brought the incident to a close, creditably to all concerned but the one responsible for its beginning, by asking Professor Münsterberg to withdraw his resignation and by stating emphatically that the University could not tolerate any suggestion that it would be willing to accept money to abridge free speech, to remove a professor, or to accept his resignation.

No one could have taken a surer method

of securing the permanent retention of Professor Münsterberg upon the Faculty of Harvard University.

THE HARTFORD "COURANT"

When a man dies, or celebrates his ninetyeth birthday, or lives to look back upon some great historic event, such as the Johnstown flood or the Battle of Waterloo, his friends and neighbors are inclined to credit him with the accomplishment of most of the things he has observed. It is a pleasant fiction, and a fiction not without some foundation in truth, when, instead of a person, the time-garlanded spectator happens to have been an institution of genuine importance. The romance of having lived through a period of enduring significance becomes doubly inviting when the honored spectator has actually played an important part in creating the story of his time.

Such, indeed, is the proud distinction of the Hartford "Courant," which has recently celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its birth. In a memorial issue of one hundred and forty-four pages the "Courant" reminds its readers with commendable restraint and justifiable pride that "the first number of the 'Courant' appeared October 29, 1764. While by no means the first paper established, it is beyond question the oldest living newspaper on the continent. It was here a dozen years before the United States arrived, and it published the 'Declaration of Independence' as 'news.' Think of that! We had this news so promptly (there was no Associated Press in those days) that we were able to give it to our readers on the fifteenth of July. It took only eleven days to come all the way from Philadelphia. . . . We had more than a year earlier printed the rousing story brought on horseback by Trail Bissell, who rode through the colony telling of the Battle of Lexington, and before and after that had published many articles fired with the spirit of independence."

In recent years one of the pleasantest associations of the "Courant" was the long and intimate connection which Charles Dudley Warner maintained with it. For many years he contributed, either editorially or otherwise, "a column a day;" and in its pages many of his most charming essays first appeared, including the chapters of "My Summer in a Garden."

The Hartford "Courant" is a private concern which is, indeed, a public asset. To

a newspaper which even the whole United States of America can allude to with editorial courtesy as "our distinguished contemporary." The Outlook offers its hearty congratulations upon a distinguished career and its best wishes for continued independence of thought and of devotion to clean journalism.

THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Over a thousand Indians and white Americans have banded together during the last three years for the uplift and advancement of the Indian race. This organization, the Society of American Indians, in which only persons of Indian blood may hold an active membership, held its fourth annual Conference at Madison, Wisconsin, last month. Its aim is to suggest and bring about better conditions, and it urges the Indian to "avail himself of every opportunity to learn the ways of 'civilized life,' in order that he may compete and co-operate successfully with other men; to use his mind and muscle, to become more and more a worker, a producer and a builder, instead of merely a consumer." It demands of the American Nation a better system of laws regulating Indian affairs, better educational facilities, and the settlement of many long unsettled claims.

No one who attended the sessions of the recent Conference could fail to be impressed with the idealism and self-sacrifice of the many educated Indians who had come long distances at their own expense in order to work for the good of their race. No one could fail to recognize the splendid oratorical ability of some of the very ones who decried their own "ignorance" and begged for an education for those to come. Pathetically ignorant as many of the older Indians were, who came with their interpreters to seek the aid of their educated brethren, under the mistaken idea that the Conference was called for the discussion of individual and tribal grievances, they showed a sense of justice, a humility, and a pride in their leaders that spoke well for the inherent nobility of the race.

While many of the members of the Society desire the passage of laws doing away with what they regard as the folly of reservation life, the resolutions adopted by the Society as a whole demand no such immediate change in our governmental policy. First and foremost, they ask the passage of the Carter Code Bill, by which a Commission will draft a

codified law definitely establishing the legal status of the Indian; and of the Stephens Bill, which will enable the Indian to place his claims directly in the United States Court of Claims without first securing the special permission of Congress. The passage of this latter bill would relieve much of the bitterness that has been growing from year to year as the different tribes awaited the settlement of their ancient grievances. As a statement published by the Society says, "Surely a great nation of a hundred million people can afford to do justice to the remnant of that race which once ruled our domain from shore to shore. Surely such a nation can trust the settlement of claims against itself to its own high courts." Other demands which the Society will lay before Congress and the President are the just trusteeship and distribution of tribal funds; the efficient allotment of lands; the wise utilization of mineral and water resources; adequate educational resources; and the just settlement of many specific grievances on the several reservations.

A body of five Indians has been delegated to present their petition to the President, Congress, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in November. This Nation is a self-appointed guardian of three hundred thousand Indians in this country. Its duty is not merely to deal justly with them itself, but to protect them from the rapacity of those who covet their property, and to enable them to become good American citizens who will need no guardian.

RETIREMENT SALARIES FOR TEACHERS

It is proposed to establish in Michigan a system of retirement salaries for teachers, and the not inconsiderable propaganda with which the pedagogues of that State are conducting their fight calls attention to certain phases of the teacher pension problem in the United States which are of more than local interest.

We learn, for instance, that at present in the United States the laws providing retirement salaries for teachers are about as varied and irregular as the general run of State laws usually are in this country. Furthermore, in respect to legislation on this subject, we Americans have allowed ourselves to lag behind other countries, as we have in respect to laws for workmen's compensation, sickness insurance, and other parts of

the twentieth-century programme of social justice.

The principle of salaried retirement for public school teachers is of comparatively recent introduction in the United States, but Russia has had it since 1819, Saxony since 1840, and England since 1848. Practically all the countries of Europe have it, and in the Western Hemisphere we find the principle in force in the Argentine Republic, and even in backward Mexico. At present, in this country, twelve States make provision for the retirement on pension of all their public school teachers, while fourteen have special acts providing pensions for teachers in the schools of cities with a population of more than ten thousand. New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, and San Francisco are among the large cities whose teachers are protected in this manner. In some States the pensions are paid entirely by the commonwealth, in others they are drawn in part from a fund made up by contributions from the teachers themselves.

Of the arguments usually brought forward by the advocates of retirement salaries for teachers, the following are the most frequently used and seem to have the most force:

1. The existence of a system of retirement salaries will bring to the profession of teaching able men and women who now enter other employments.

2. It will hold in the profession many persons of ability who now leave it for other fields that offer a safer future.

3. Such a system will remove the ever-present nightmare of a penniless and dependent old age, thereby encouraging a teacher to take more needed rest, spend more time in traveling, and otherwise enlarge the teacher's sphere of life, and thus increase his or her usefulness as an instructor. Those countries, like Germany, for instance, where teaching is one of the most honored professions, all have laws providing retirement salaries for the state's preceptors.

Whether funds for providing retirement salaries should be secured through taxation must be decided by other considerations in addition to the desirability of establishing such retirement salaries. In the first place, it must be decided whether the amount raised by taxes now can be made to meet this new drain upon the public treasury. Second, if present taxes are not sufficient, it must be decided whether the people are will-

ing to add any weight to their tax burden. In the third place, it must be decided whether any amount raised by such additional taxation should be spent for this purpose rather than for any other. In general, improvement in the quality and the character of the teaching should give precedence over improvement in buildings and in material; but laws already enacted establish standards in buildings and material that cannot well be abandoned. Unquestionably one of the most beneficent forms that private benevolence has taken has been in the establishing of pensions for professors and other teachers in endowed institutions. If the practice of providing for the future years of teachers can be extended throughout the public school system, either by private gift or by an insurance system or by public appropriations consistent with adequate expenditure for other purposes, the result would be of great benefit to the schools and their pupils.

GERMANY AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Disquieting words have been spoken very recently by eminent German officials in America. The fact that they were meant to be reassuring does not make them the less disquieting.

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly German Colonial Secretary, and now Germany's most conspicuous advocate in the United States, was understood recently to have made a statement to the effect that Germany had announced its recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. It may be well to recall here the words in which that Doctrine was first enunciated by President Monroe in 1823, when certain European Powers showed signs of wishing to help Spain recover her lost American colonies:

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or

controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

The announcement that Germany intended to observe this Doctrine was therefore equivalent to an announcement that Germany had no intention of establishing colonies anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. The very fact that such an announcement seemed to be necessary made Americans think of the possibility that Germany might have power to gain territory in the Western Hemisphere.

Following Dr. Dernburg's statement, there was issued from the State Department at Washington an announcement which showed that Dr. Dernburg's statement should be considerably modified. This announcement was as follows:

The German Ambassador on September 3 last, in a note to the Department of State, stated that he was instructed by his Government to deny most emphatically the rumors to the effect that Germany intends, in case she comes out victorious in the present war, to seek expansion in South America.

The sweeping statement of Dr. Dernburg is thus reduced to an official expression concerning Germany's intention with regard to South America. Thus it is seen that there was no pledge offered, but merely an expression of intention. And Americans must remember that intentions change. In the second place, it related, not to the whole of the Western Hemisphere, but merely to South America. What Germany's intentions are with regard to North America, including Canada and the West Indies, was left to American imagination.

But not for long. One day later there was published a further statement by Dr. Dernburg, and a statement by the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff. The German Ambassador's statement was to the effect, as reported, that a German invasion of Canada for a temporary foothold on the American continent would not be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and would not, therefore, run counter to American principles. Dr. Dernburg said that inasmuch as Canadian troops had been sent to aid England in the present war against Germany, "Canada had placed herself beyond the pale of American protection;" but he also said that it was his understanding that "Germany will not only avoid taking or attempting to take any territory in South America in violation of the

Monroe Doctrine, but will extend its principles to all of Canada."

In view of the way in which Germany regards its treaty obligations when they appear to be inconsistent with its own interests, such statements as these by Dr. Dernburg and Count von Bernstorff are naturally not regarded as restraining Germany from taking any action which she has the power to take. The significance of these utterances is to be found in the fact that Germans of high station regard as a possibility worthy of serious discussion the acquirement by Germany of power to take territory in the Western Hemisphere if she wishes it.

In the light of such utterances we can understand, better perhaps than we could have understood before, expressions of concern on the part of Englishmen for what a German victory might mean to democracy in the Western Hemisphere, and particularly in the United States. This English concern reveals itself in letters from prominent Englishmen to friends in this country and in the English press. In these English expressions there is an uneasy feeling that a German victory is conceivable, and that, if the odds go against the Allies, the contingent dangers to American interests might entitle England and France, in such a supreme crisis, to have America's material help as well as moral sympathy.

One does not, for example, have to read between the lines to find in such a paragraph as the following from the London "Spectator" of recent date (September 26) evidence of deep anxiety over the prospect:

We are not ashamed to confess that the military unpreparedness of America haunts us like a nightmare. No doubt it is well-nigh inconceivable that Germany can now be victorious. Still, if by a miracle she were to win, she would unquestionably turn her attention to the great unravaged and undeveloped riches of South America. She would, indeed, hardly have any choice but to renew her strength there. And then how about the Monroe Doctrine! Strange as it will sound to most American ears, and furious as it will render many thoughtless transatlantic jingoes, it is none the less true that at this moment what stands between the Monroe Doctrine and its complete destruction are our ships in the North Sea and the battle-weary, mud-stained men in the British and French trenches on the Aisne.

It would be futile to attempt to forecast Germany's colonial policy in case she were victorious. All that one can safely predict is

that this policy would be world-wide and all-embracing. At the outset a victorious Germany, in order to despoil and cripple her adversaries, might content herself with the French possessions in Indo-China; with the Mediterranean coast of Africa from Morocco to and including Egypt (Italy would hardly dare to file a formal protest!); with the English colonies in South Africa, and the French and Belgian in the Congo region; together with a few islands and naval stations like Jamaica, Bermuda, Gibraltar, Malta, Madagascar, the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, and possibly Formosa. These colonial possessions might do for a beginning. Sooner or later, however, South America would invite colonization as the land of perhaps richer possibilities than any colonies obtained by conquest.

There is little reason to suppose that in such a contingency Germany, if she retained her present form of government, would show the slightest respect for the Monroe Doctrine, unless for commercial reasons it were for the interest of her people to keep on friendly terms with the United States. A dozen years ago a writer in the London "Spectator," W. T. Arnold—an Oxford man, a grandson of Arnold of Rugby—called attention to the views of one school of German professors on this subject. In a publication entitled "Die Deutschen in tropischen Amerika," Dr. W. Wintzer argued frankly that the United States in assuming possession of the Philippines had resigned all moral right to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. He went on to say, according to Mr. Arnold, that the United States "thereby gave us the right to confront the Greater America doctrine with a Greater German one—namely, that European, and among them German, interests exist also in South America, in case we have the power to assert them." "He insists," continued Mr. Arnold, "on the comparatively slight importance of the United States in South America. . . . Germany, he argues, needs room for her rapid growth of population (800,000 yearly), and 'cannot allow herself to be simply dispossessed of her inheritance in one of the most thinly peopled and richest quarters of the globe—South America.' 'Equality of treatment with the United States in South America, that is the theory which we, both on principle and as occasion serves, must oppose to the Monroe Doctrine, and which, too, should the moment come, we must defend by force.'"

The same idea is expressed by General von Bernhardt, who calls attention to the inconsistency of the United States' acquiring foreign possessions and at the same time warning foreign governments away from South America by the threat of the Monroe Doctrine. "America," he says, "which indisputably plays a decisive part in English policy, is a land of limitless possibilities. While, on the one side, she insists on the Monroe Doctrine, on the other she stretches out her own arms towards Asia and Africa in order to find bases for her fleets. The United States aim at the economic and, where possible, the political command of the American continent, and at naval supremacy in the Pacific. Their interests, both economic and political, notwithstanding all commercial and other treaties, clash emphatically with those of Japan and England."

When acquired, these colonies, von Bernhardt insists, must be united politically as well as commercially with the Fatherland, if they are to serve their highest use. "A part," he says, "of our surplus population, indeed—so far as present conditions point—will always be driven to seek a livelihood outside the borders of the German Empire. Measures must be taken to the extent at least of providing that the German element is not split up in the world, but remains united in compact blocks, and thus forms, even in foreign countries, political centers of gravity in our favor, markets for our exports, and centers for the diffusion of German culture." And the full significance of the phrase "even in foreign countries" is revealed by these words: "The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality is one from which in our direct interests we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and thus united constitute a power in the State with which the Government must reckon."

We resent the reflection upon a great body of American citizens that is contained in General von Bernhardt's statement.

The last Census showed that in 1910 there were more than two and a half million people in the United States who had been

born in Germany. In case Germany were to attain the power which Dr. Dernburg and Count von Bernstorff suggest she may acquire, would these people of German birth be loyal to the United States if it undertook to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, or would they uphold Germany in an attempt to impose its colonists and its civilization on peoples in our neighborhood? Some of those who have been defending Germany have assumed an attitude which tends not to allay but to increase anxiety as to this. The great body of Americans, however, of German birth and German descent would, we believe, be as loyal to American principles as those born in any other country or having any other blood in their veins. We believe this because we believe that the spirit of *Machtpolitik*, the spirit that rests on the doctrine that "might makes right," that "necessity knows no law," cannot in the long run withstand the spirit of free institutions, the spirit of representative government, the spirit of democracy.

It is because of this incompatibility between what Germany of 1914 stands for and what the United States stands for that Americans, consciously or unconsciously, feel disquieted by the thought of Germany's gaining a foothold in the Western Hemisphere. For a hundred years we have been at peace with an Empire a mighty portion of which extends for three thousand miles on our northern frontier. Along that whole line there is not a fortification, nor is there a war-ship of either nation on the waters through which that line runs. The reason for this history of peace is to be found in the fact that, whatever the failings of the British Empire and of the United States may be, both of these great countries are in principle devoted to a common ideal—that the people should control their own government, and not the government its people. The contrast between this ideal of representative government and the ideal which in ancient times ruled such empires as Assyria and Babylonia and Rome, which prevailed in Europe for centuries, and which is most efficiently and logically exemplified by the Prussian Government of Germany, is effectively drawn by Professor McElroy in his article in this issue on "The Prussian War against Teuton Ideals." It is unquestionable that no self-governing people can attain the extraordinary degree of military efficiency that can be attained by a power that is ultimately autocratic; that no people whose chief aim

is to secure ordered liberty can compete in arms with a people whose final aim is for a place "in the sun;" that no self-governing people, however wide their territory or rich their resources, can engage alone with success in war against a compact military power. The hope of democracy in its contest with military autocracy has lain in the fact that for years self-government was protected against assault by the sea which surrounded Great Britain and separated the United States from European autocracies. To-day that protection is not what it used to be, and the hope for democracy lies in the union of self-governing people against the encroachments of autocracy and militarism. At present, so far as the United States is concerned, that union is a moral one. Happily, nothing has as yet occurred which makes it necessary for the people of the United States to feel that they will be confronted by the necessity of choosing whether they wish to abandon their principles of self-government and liberty, or whether they will defend them by the only weapons which military autocracy recognizes as valid.

THE SECRET OF BARRIE

Sir James Barrie has come and gone, leaving behind him a book of plays, four in number, which bear the alluring title "Half Hours" and the Scribner imprint. A few years ago we were all reading Mr. Barrie's works; now we are all seeing—or rather hearing—his plays. For on the Barrie stage things are said which it is a joy to hear. Of late years so much fiction has been laden with teaching and preaching, and so much acting has taken people to places which they never visit in real life and into the society of men and women whom they never meet, that we have almost forgotten the joy of art, the free and happy play of the spirit on a holiday in which it neither sows nor reaps, but is as a child in its father's house.

Sir James Barrie is delightfully at ease in a world in which he finds the soul of goodness taking itself naturally, neither overburdened with the consciousness of its sins nor overshadowed by the temptation to turn virtue into a discipline of repression. Nobody knows boys so well as the playwright who has given Peter Pan both pockets and wings, and who can take an inventory of what is in the pockets and make the wings practicable.

Most wings are symbolic—it would be impossible to move them; but Peter Pan can fly.

It is as easy for Mr. Barrie to find goodness in the world as it is for many writers to discover nothing in the universe but the sex problem, and to present every solution by arithmetic, algebra, calculus, geometry, and sociology except the simple normal solution of love and purity; and Mr. Barrie has made the astounding discovery that virtue is as interesting as vice, and that goodness and art, instead of being enemies, are the best of friends when some one who knows them gives them a chance to meet on the stage or in fiction. It is astonishing how happily they get on when a common friend brings them together. They are always waiting for this friend to arrive, but as genius is a rare quality they often wait in vain. The friends of goodness often make it as self-conscious as the child who has been blighted by conventional and premature piety; the friends of art, on the other hand, are often so afraid that it may suffer an eclipse of gayety if it gets into a respectable neighborhood that, when it is out of jail, they lodge it in the moral slums. It is Mr. Barrie's secret that he takes both goodness and art as naturally and simply as if God had made them both, and meant that they should not only live together but fill the world with joy. The child who was set in the midst of the self-conscious and indiscriminating disciples was a symbol whose meaning neither the world of virtue nor the world of art has yet learned.

This freedom of spirit relieves Mr. Barrie's novels and plays of any sense of weight; his tools are never lying about. There is never a suggestion of the heavy pressure of hard muscles, of the grim determination of calculating toil, of rigid regulation of thoughts and actions, which give many stories and plays a sermonic quality without the sermonic inspiration. Mr. Barrie's people often surprise us, as they undoubtedly surprise him; they are whimsical, witty, and entirely human; and when a really human person gets on the stage without a moral tag or a mission to solve a problem, straightway unexpected things begin to happen and life becomes immensely interesting.

It is impossible to persuade Mr. Barrie to talk about himself, and attempts to interview him are as futile as the endeavors of the correspondents to get on the firing line in Belgium. Several years ago he presided at a Burns dinner; at least he sat at the head of the table. A few days later his friends were

stirred to indignation by an amusing and ironical article in a London newspaper on "Mr. Barrie in the Chair." On inquiry, it came out that Mr. Barrie had written the article! An "interview" similar in spirit is reprinted from the New York "Times" in another place in this issue. Mr. Barrie talks freely and delightfully about everything except his work and everybody except himself. This cunning evasion of all well-laid plans to overtake him in an egotistical mood is of a piece with his happy freedom from self-consciousness. He is the most intimate of writers, and yet he never tells us anything about himself. But in this evasion and escape he really betrays the secret of his art and of our personal affection for him; for no one who reads him can escape the charm of that sweetness of nature which is health, and of that joy in life which is born neither of blindness nor of insensibility, but of sympathy and faith.

HUMAN QUALITY AND KNOWLEDGE

In the Autobiography of Dr. Shaler, a college administrator of great ability who had a rare power of winning the love of his students, these significant words are found:

I have known many an ignorant sailor or backwoodsman who, because he had been brought into sympathetic contact with the primitive qualities of his kind, was humanely a better educated man than those who pride themselves on their culture. The gravest problem of civilization is, in my opinion, how to teach human quality in a system which tends ever more and more to hide it.

These words are immensely reinforced by the conditions of the hour; and they also strikingly interpret those conditions.

Many people are asking in despair: If men of the highest training yield to the same passions and antagonisms to which ignorant men yield, how is society ever to become safe and sane?

It has happened more than once in the history of the world that the most passionate partisans have been men distinguished for knowledge in some special field. When the Spanish-American War broke out, one of the most distinguished scholars in Europe, a venerable and venerated historian of the highest rank, wrote a pamphlet so virulent in its spirit toward the United States, so passionate in its tone, so manifestly ignorant of actual condi-

tions, that his friends were filled with anxiety lest it should go out into the world and blur a great reputation. Their entreaties alone prevented its publication.

The world has learned by tragic experience that knowledge is often divorced from wisdom; and that to have a wide range of information gives a man neither insight nor conviction. The experts are often farthest from the truth when it comes to dealing with general conditions. Lincoln knew his country far better than many of the most learned men of his generation. He knew it because he had been intimate with it. They had looked at it largely as observers and students; he had lived in it and lived with it. What he brought to the study of its problems was not expert knowledge, but that deep human sympathy which, combined with unusual opportunities, had brought him in contact with the life of the country.

Separated from that human quality, knowledge is a vain and useless guide to action. It may make one master of a subdivision of a field of life; it may leave one absolutely blind to what is going on in the field at large. The critic is simply a judge of technical rectitude if he cannot bring this defining quality to the study of a work of art. He stands on the outside of it. He knows whether it conforms to the rules; he can indicate with precision the points at which it departs from the conventions; but he cannot master its secrets and he cannot estimate the value of its contribution either to thought or to beauty.

There is an immense significance in the fact that, as a rule, people who exploit another race spread evil reports about that race. In the smoking-rooms of foreign hotels and clubs in the Far East one will hear all manner of sneers at the people in whose country he happens to be at the moment. He will be told that they cannot be trusted; that they are savage at heart; that they do not understand us and that we cannot understand them. He will be told that missionary work among them is idle. For decades travelers in China had been told by many foreign residents who were there for commercial purposes that no Chinese ever became a Christian except for a consideration; and yet, when the Boxer Rebellion put Chinese Christianity to the test, the Chinese Christians died as heroically and in as great numbers as did the primitive Christians in the earliest persecutions. In Japan, in Korea, in China, in India, the exploiters who went there to create business and to make money out of the country were often critical, censori-

ous, and bitterly cynical. There are, of course, many exceptions to this statement; but it remains true that the exploiter rarely understands the people among whom he lives. He looks at them simply from the trade point of view.

On the other hand, teachers, students, missionaries, respect and love the people among whom they live and for whom they work. It is a significant and beautiful truth that, as a rule, the missionaries in the Far East are partisans of the people whom they are trying to serve. The Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Indians, have no more devoted friends and lovers than the missionaries.

It is also a beautiful and significant fact that settlement workers among the different races, as a rule, love the races with whom they are living. Those who are working in an Italian neighborhood will tell you that no people are so attractive and charming as the Italians; those who are working among the Armenians point out the ancient virtues and the modern attractiveness of one of the oldest races; while those who are teaching and working among the Jewish populations of the city will tell you that no children are half so responsive, no people so grateful, as the Jews.

And these statements are all true. It is impossible to live with a people and work for them without coming to have a great affection for them. You cannot give the best to others without getting the best from them. To deal with people for purposes of exploitation is to give them the worst that is in you and to evoke the worst that is in them. On the other hand, to serve people is to give them your best and to evoke their best.

Here clearly is a great secret which, once learned, will solve half the problems which are now facing society. For the separation between different sections of society, although it seems an almost insurmountable obstacle, disappears when helpfulness, confidence, and affection take the place of suspicion, antagonism, and distrust. There is no magic about this; it is the operation of a fundamental law of life. Men have gone through many wasteful and tragic centuries to get even a glimpse of this great truth. It may be that they will go through other centuries before they will see it clearly enough to make it a rule of life. Sooner or later, however, unless civilization is to fail, helpfulness is to take the place of exploitation, confidence the place of suspicion, and a deep human sympathy, akin to love, the place of race antagonism.

A FRENCH PEACE ADVOCATE ON THE WAR

THE eminent advocate of world-wide peace and international understanding, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, has had to submit to many rude shocks during the last year. He lost his only son, a most lovable young man and promising engineer, and his wife has been seriously ill. Then came the assassination of his friend M. Jean Jaurès, leader of the French Parliamentary group to promote universal arbitration. Baron d'Estournelles was called upon to deliver the funeral oration. Many looked forward to this occasion to hear what effect impending war had had upon the leaders of the Peace Movement. He said in part:

"The Committee of Parliament on Arbitration, of which Jaurès had been Vice-President for eleven years, has never taken any important action without his presence and aid. . . . He realized thoroughly that France, by making its aims and mission better understood throughout the world, was really fortifying herself morally and materially. Every service he rendered was that of a patriot and of a great Frenchman. Never were his presence, his counsel, and his speech more needed than in the tragic hour just now commencing, and it should be remembered that he gave unstintingly and passionately of his great powers and influence for the defense of our country when the time came to prepare for defense. Had he lived a little longer, we may be sure that he would have done his utmost as a man to assist in repelling the brutal attack on peace and right and treaties, and would have been found among the organizers of the world-wide revolt against the abuse of power."

But the people of France were eager to learn how Baron d'Estournelles, the advocate of peace, thought and felt when actual war began. He yielded to the demand and sent a message to the French press, which we translate as follows:

"In the outbreak of war, France has nothing with which to reproach herself, and that to-day is her great strength; and it is for this reason that she has so many friends throughout the world and so many allies. What she desired above all was peace; what she sought was peace. Germany, on the contrary, is isolated because, in partnership with the gilded Empire of Austria, she has declared war, violated the rights of nations, ravaged

without provocation the territory of Belgium, the neutrality of which she has nevertheless guaranteed. Hence the present war cannot very well be anything else than war without pity. There are people who sincerely imagine that they see in this war the collapse of the pacific policy of France. There are others who, having always condemned this policy, are profiting by this occasion to attack it more violently and more venomously than ever. As far as I am concerned, my sorrow is very great; to see the patient efforts of so many men for international conciliation brought to naught—men who had been chosen from among the élite of every land; who had seemed to make real progress during the last ten years in Berlin, Berne, Bâle, Brussels, Munich, Geneva, The Hague, London, Paris, Heidelberg, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Buda-Pest, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Moscow, in Scandinavia, in the United States, and elsewhere. We were not able to succeed in making the German Government understand that its interests also were to come to an understanding with France through mutual concessions; that both countries might live in peace and that humanity might be spared the sacrifice of hecatombs; we could not make the German Government understand that its real interest lay—like that of others—not in disarmament, of which we never spoke, but in reasonable and concerted limitation of armaments. We could not succeed in making the German Government understand that it itself would be the first victim of these cumulative armaments purporting to be necessary to safeguard peace, but which have resulted in bringing on the war. We could not succeed in Germany, as we have succeeded elsewhere; but wasn't it worth while to have tried? In any case, my conscience has at least the satisfaction of realizing these facts:

"(1) If we have not succeeded in preventing war, we have at least retarded for years its advent. Compare the forty-three years of peace—fertile and fruitful—with the periods preceding them and consider the difference. The French Empire survived only eighteen years, from 1852 to 1870. Founded on violence, it could maintain itself only by violence. Hardly was it born when it went to war. It made war on Russia, and Austria, and Mexico, and Prussia, without enu-

merating the rest. In this very month of September (1870), when the war had hardly begun, it had lost at Sedan the last of our armies. It itself had been dethroned and driven out. To-day the Germans have invaded our country, but have not disturbed our national unity nor affected our vital force. Our armies are fighting day and night to wear them out and then to seize a favorable moment to repulse and to overwhelm them. Is there any sign in all this that our country has grown weak? Our mobilization has been effected with the regularity of a chronometer. The Government has withdrawn to Bordeaux to be freer to direct the defense without the risk of seeing its lines of communication cut off. The war has already lasted six weeks; it may last for months. But are the people demoralized? Have they hesitated to withdraw, to retire and to abandon everything that they hold dear in the north, or even to destroy it, that the enemy might find but a waste ahead of it? In the west, in the center, and in the south are they not exhausting themselves spontaneously to care for the wounded and refugees, both Belgian and French? Have they abandoned the harvests where men are lacking in those parts not occupied by the enemies? Nowhere! They are working prodigiously without one single complaint. Not a single mother, anxiously awaiting for weeks the news of her son or her husband or her brother, would consent to hasten their return, if possible to do so, at the risk of retarding the final victory of our armies. France is united as she never has been before, and the Government is united—Conservatives, Republicans, Socialists—by one single thought: to conquer imperialistic Germany, to defend liberty and peace. Is not this a splendid advance and improvement upon the past? But that is not all:

“(2) While Germany has been terrorizing or disturbing the world France has been reassuring it; Germany has become a menace, France a guarantee for general peace. Every one understood that peace went hand in hand with our principles, while the German Empire could not maintain an equilibrium with peace on one hand and the spirit of conquest on the other. As a consequence of this, and through an instinct of preservation, the whole world sides now with France and not with Germany. We have seen the alliance with Russia, born out of the victories of 1870, and strengthened by German menaces in 1875 and in 1887—to cite only two of them; we

have seen the understanding with England. Those who reproach us for our efforts for Franco-German conciliation reproached us also previously for our efforts toward Franco-English conciliation, the day after Fashoda. They have even reproached us for our efforts at good understanding with the United States; but is it not, after all, because of these efforts that we see Russia allied with France, England and Belgium allied with France, without counting Japan in the Far East or the Balkan States, without counting Italy, already detached from the Triple Alliance and observing a neutrality more ominous for Austria than for France.

“To summarize: Through her pacific policies France has been able to marshal on her side the recognition that she has been in the right, whereas all the wrong is recognized as being on the side of the Austro-German aggression. To-day she can count as many friends, or at least neutrals, as before she could count enemies. The Russian army is mobilized to bring to our aid its innumerable battalions; the Belgian army has built for us a rampart out of the very bodies of its men; the British army is one with our own. The whole world is divided into two camps: one properly belonging to the past, the camp of violence and arbitrary war, execrated by everybody, suspected by all; on the other side, the camp of the future—that is, the camp of peace. The issue of this terrible combat cannot be doubtful. Civilization, it seems to me, is fighting, once for all, to overcome the violence which menaces it. It must overthrow it or war will always be ready to commence again. The civilization of the twentieth century cannot be overthrown, and it will triumph; and then the world will do justice to men of good will who, not turned aside by obstacles or calumny, will also have aided in the defense and borne their share of the battles without reproach and with no evidence of weakness.”

The self-restraint and temperate spirit of the French people has been very marked since the outbreak of the war. They have said little in the American public press. We are therefore especially glad to present the foregoing views of an eminent Frenchman of high international ideals. It is interesting to observe that the war has not disheartened him either in his belief in the possibility of international peace or in his determination to carry on its propaganda.

THE PYRES

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

Pyres in the night, in the night!
And the roaring yellow and red.
Trooper, trooper, why so white?
We are out to gather our dead.
We have brought dry boughs from the bloody wood
And the torn hill-side;
We have felled great trunks, wet with the blood
Of brothers that died;
We have piled them high for a flaming bed,
Hemlock and ash and pine for a bed,
A throne in the night, a throne for a bed—
And we go to gather our dead.

There where the oaks loom, dark and high,
Over the somber hill,
Body on body, cold and still,
Under the stars they lie.
There where the silver river runs,
Careless and calm as fate,
Mowed, mowed by the terrible guns,
The stricken brothers wait.
There by the smoldering house, and there
Where the red smoke hangs on the heavy air,
Under the ruins, under the hedge,
Cheek by cheek at the forest-edge;
Back to breast, three men deep,
Hearing not bugle or drum,
In the desperate trench they died to keep,
Under the starry dome they sleep,
Murmuring, "Brothers, come!"

This way! I heard a call
Like a stag's when he dies.
Under the willows I saw him fall.
Under the willows he lies.
Give me your hand. Raise him up.
Lift his head. Strike a light.
This morning we shared a crust and a cup.
He wants no supper to-night.
Take his feet. Here the shells
Broke all day long,
Moaning and shrieking hell's
Bacchanalian song!
Last night he helped me bear
Men to hell's fête.
To-morrow, maybe, somewhere,
We, too, shall lie waiting.

Pyres in the night, in the night!
Weary and sick and dumb,
Under the flickering, faint starlight
The drooping gleaners come.
Out of the darkness, dim
Shadowy shadow-bearers,

Dragging into the bale-fire's rim
Pallid death-farers.

Pyres in the night, in the night!
In the plain, on the hill.
No volleys for their last rite.
We need our powder—to kill.
High on their golden bed,
Pile up the dead!

Pyres in the night, in the night!
Torches, piercing the gloom!
Look! How the sparks take flight!
Stars, stars, make room!
Smoke, that was bone and blood!
Hark! The deep roar.
It is the souls telling God
The glory of WAR!

THE PRUSSIAN WAR AGAINST TEUTON IDEALS

BY ROBERT McNUTT McELROY

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

HAVING just returned from Germany, where military ideals dominate all others, I have been impressed as never before by the peace-loving attitude of the American people. We love peace, and still desire, as in the days of Jefferson, "an honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." But there can be no disloyalty to the neutral idea which the President has reasserted in attempting to point out the deeper issues involved in the conflict now devastating Europe. One of the saddest features of this war of the world is the fact that the German people are dying by thousands in an effort to check the spread of the grandest political idea ever produced—and one which they themselves originated. The idea of representative government, so far as its history can be traced, first appeared in the forests of Germany, and has long been known among political theorists as the Teutonic Idea. Wherever we find Teutons in the earliest days of European history we find not only the primary assembly which had been familiar to the people of ancient Greece and Rome, but also rough attempts at representative assemblies. Rome had known nothing of the idea of representative government except the military representation of a govern-

ment above, and independent of, the people. With the coming of the Germans into history, however, there appears a new idea—namely, that the people have a right to be heard in affairs of state, the common people as well as the nobles, and this through representatives whom they have selected.

This idea, as the philosopher-historian John Fiske has pointed out, is the secret of successful empire-building on a large scale. The ancient Oriental empires were the result of conquest without incorporation. The inhabitants of the conquered regions were held in unstable equilibrium by force, and by force alone. They served the empire from fear, and never from love. The Roman Empire advanced one step further. Her world state, like all that had gone before it, was built up by military conquest, but conquest with incorporation. The conquered regions became an organic part of the nation. The conquered peoples were given the rights of Roman citizenship, which meant equality before the law; but, lacking the Teutonic idea of representative government, Rome proved unequal to the task of holding together the world empire which she had reared. The precise difference between a modern and an

(Continued on page following illustrations)

Current Events Pictorially Treated



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A GROUP OF GERMAN SOLDIERS IN CAMP IN THE VICINITY OF TSINGTAU,
THEIR STRONGHOLD IN CHINA



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JAPANESE TROOPS ON THE ROAD TO TSINGTAU

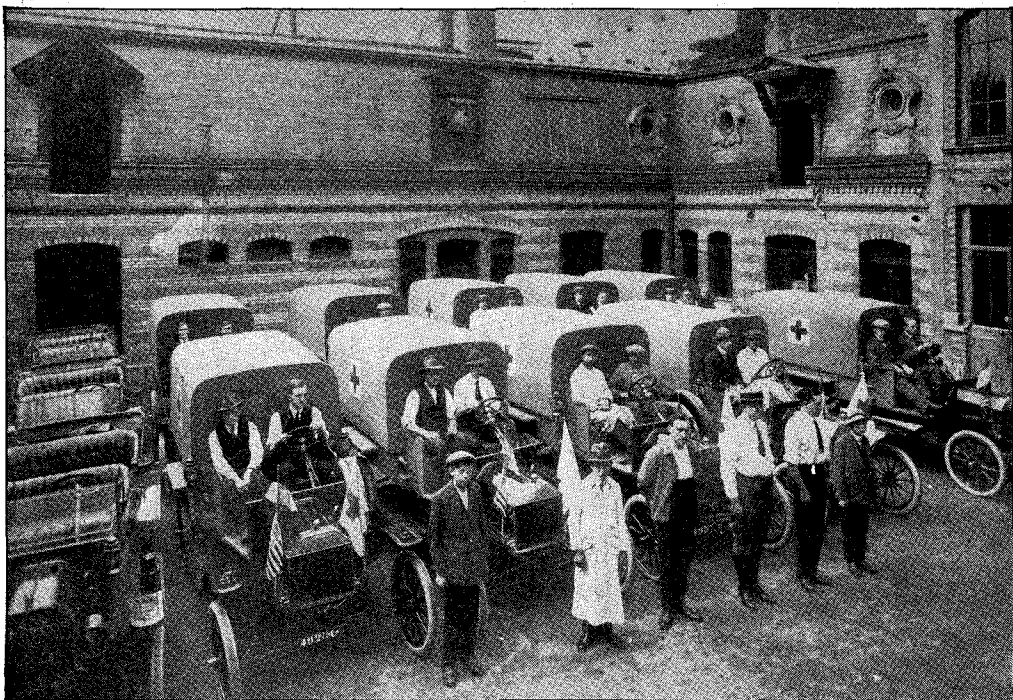
The ravages shown in the picture are due, not to war, but to one of the series of disastrous storms which visited this part of China at the time of the arrival of the Japanese. The storms have hampered Japan's military operations against the Germans

THE WAR IN THE EAST



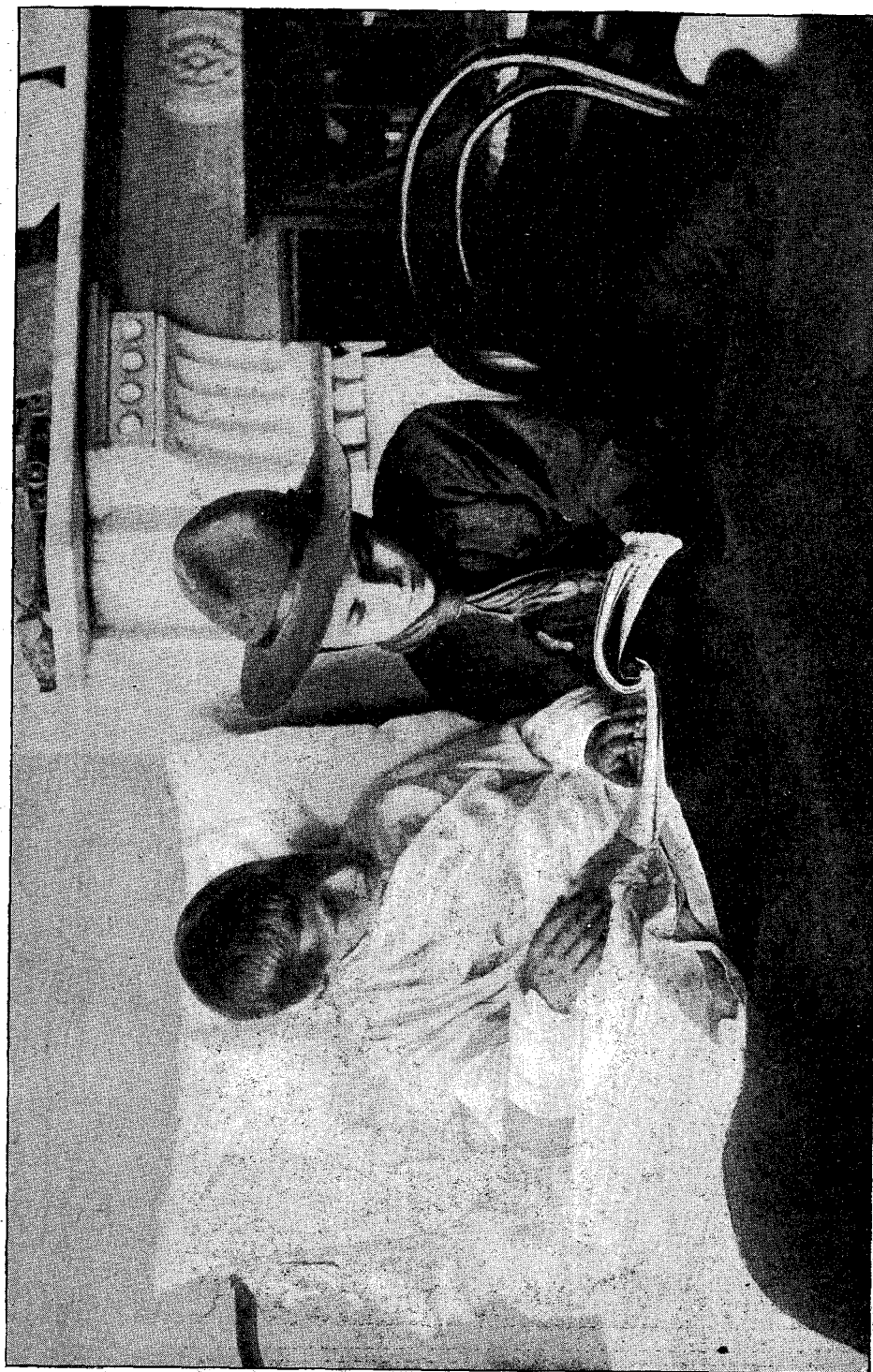
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A WOUNDED BRITISH MARINE, WITH HIS COMRADES, RETIRING FROM THE TRENCHES
AFTER THE UNAVAILING DEFENSE OF THE CITY
THE RETREAT FROM ANTWERP



THE AMERICAN AMBULANCE HOSPITAL IN PARIS

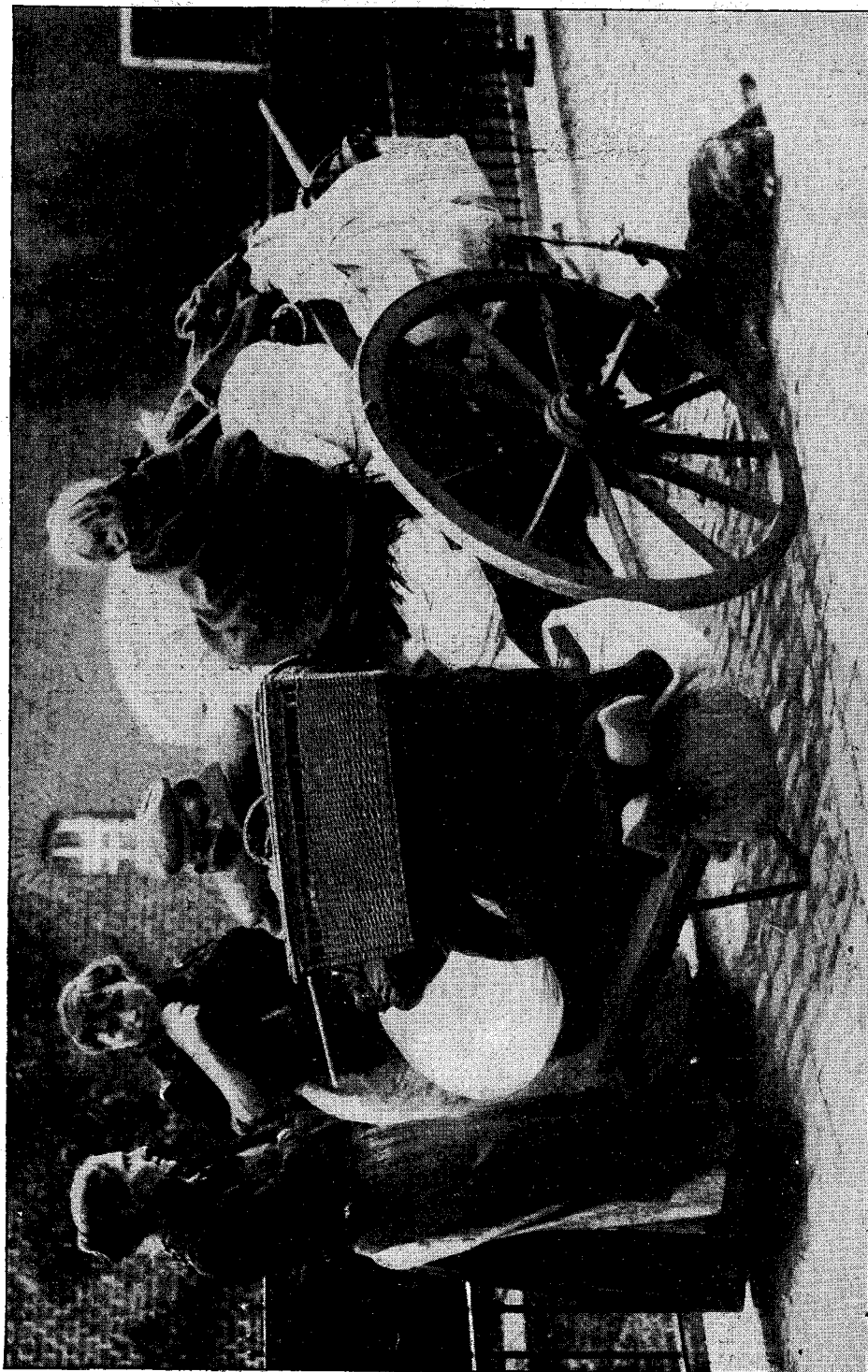
The remarkable surgical and philanthropic work of this unique hospital conducted by Americans is described elsewhere in this issue. The upper picture shows a group of American volunteer nurses making bandages in one of the wards of the spacious building. A courtyard of the hospital with a group of the ambulances and their American drivers and attendants is shown in the lower picture



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AN ENGLISH BOY SCOUT EXPLAINING THE BRITISH CODE TO A BELGIAN SCOUT

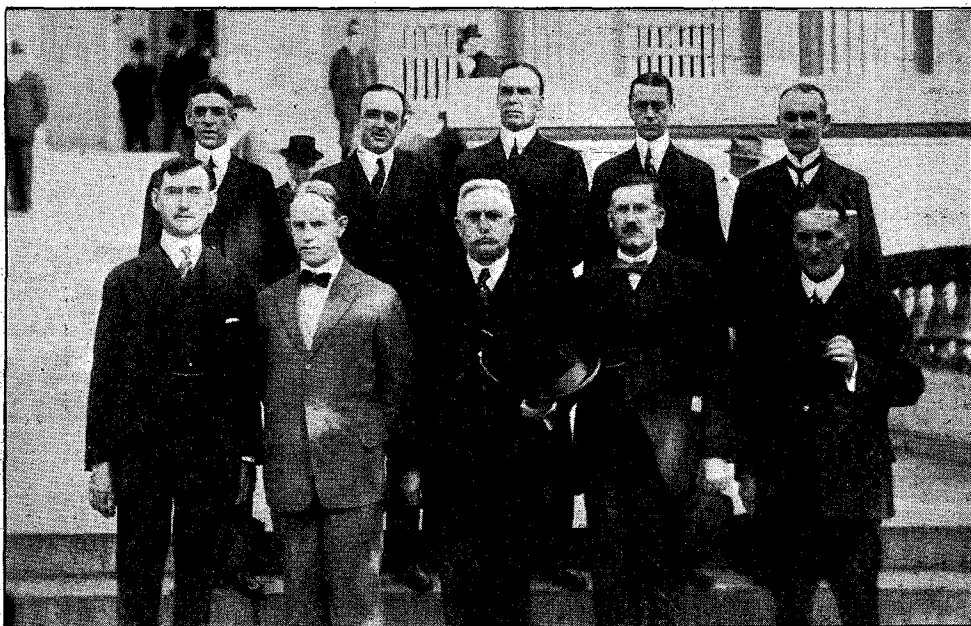
The English Boy Scout, reported as having been injured in the performance of his duties, is telling the Belgian boy, who is one of the many refugees in England, something of the standards set for him by his organization



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REFUGEES FROM ANTWERP SEEK SAFETY IN HOLLAND

The photograph, one of many of this character, shows a pathetic little group who have found a haven of refuge in Rosendaal, Holland. These unfortunates form one of war's saddest sights. Soldiers go to battle expecting to be killed or wounded; but the misery that befalls these non-combatants, women and children, is neither expected nor deserved



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GOVERNORS OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS

This picture shows ten of the Governors of Federal Reserve Banks out of the total of twelve. Back row, left to right: Charles J. Rhoads, of Philadelphia, District No. 3; Oscar Wells, Houston, Texas, District No. 11; Alfred L. Aiken, Boston, District No. 1; Benjamin Strong, Jr., New York, District No. 2; Archibald Kains, San Francisco, District No. 12. Front row, left to right: D. R. Faucher, Cleveland, District No. 4; George J. Soay, Richmond, District No. 5; Joseph A. McCord, Atlanta, District No. 6; Theodore Wold, Minneapolis, District No. 9; Charles M. Sawyer, Topeka, Kansas, District No. 10.



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ENGLAND CONFERS WITH AMERICA ON FINANCE

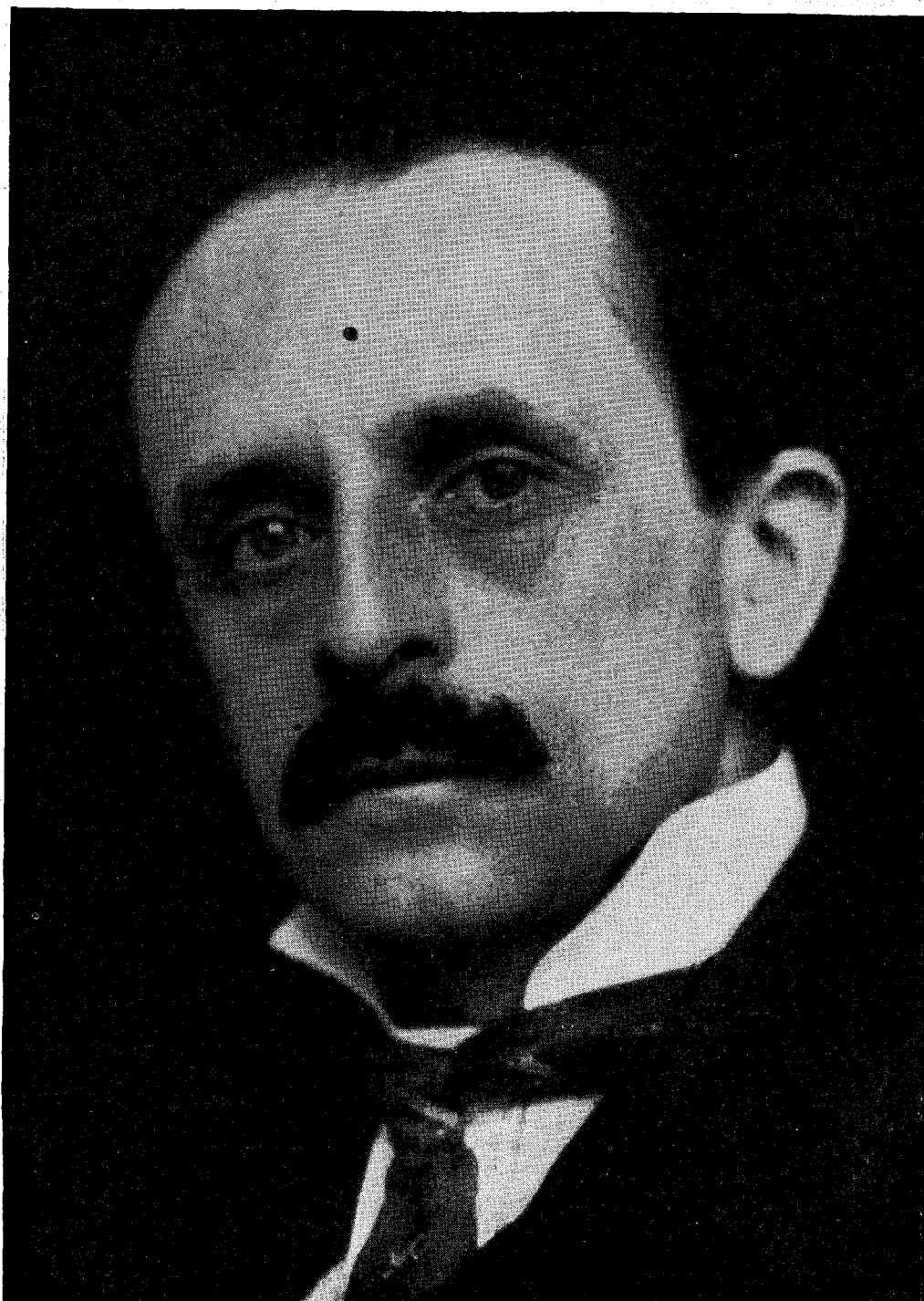
Left to right: Mr. Basil Blackett, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, and Sir George Paish. Sir George and Mr. Blackett have been in Washington as representatives of the British Government to confer with our Government officials regarding financial affairs and international business and to rearrange the matter of exchange (which has been upset because of the war) between this country and theirs. Sir Cecil Spring-Rice is the British Ambassador to the United States.



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

A NEW STATUE OF HENRY WARD BEECHER

This statue of the famous orator and preacher, by Gutzon Borglum, was unveiled a few days ago in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The statue is of bronze, and rests on a pedestal of granite. The figures on the pedestal are those of slave girls, recalling the celebrated auction in Plymouth Church at which a young Negro woman was "sold into freedom." At the unveiling of the statue addresses were made by the Rev. Newell D. Hillis, General Horatio C. King, and Captain John R. Howard.



PHOTOGRAPH BY BERESFORD

SIR JAMES BARRIE: NOVELIST AND PLAYWRIGHT

Sir James Barrie's recent visit to this country was a brief one, and was mainly for the purpose of seeing the presentation of one of his plays. His visit and his personality are commented on elsewhere in this issue

ancient state is marked by the presence or absence of this idea which the Germanic race brought into history.

By degrees, as the Germanic conquests over the Roman Empire extended, the Teutonic idea in government took root; and soon the germs of representative institutions appeared almost everywhere in Europe. From that day to the present those gifted individuals whose eyes can discern the great forces of history have eagerly watched the struggle between the Roman idea of empire by force and the German idea of empire by representation. For, just as in natural history the constant tendency is for highly specialized species to "revert to type," so in politics the tendency has always been toward political devolution, a reversion to the older and ruder forms of empire-building.

Gradually the Teutonic idea was beaten upon the Continent. The long absence of successive German Emperors in Italy, chasing the rainbow of the crown of the Cæsars, left their retainers free to war among themselves for supremacy. By degrees the old gospel of force overcame the new gospel of representative government, and Germany ceased to be a nation even in name. In other parts of the Continent also, except in the highlands of Switzerland and the lowlands of Holland, the Teutonic idea in government was gradually overwhelmed by the Roman idea. Cæsar's spirit again ruled the Continent, and representative government was dead.

In the British Isles, however, it still lived. The Germanic tribes who had conquered Romanized Britain had come as barbarians, bringing the Teutonic idea untainted by contact with Rome. From Hengest's landing in 449 to the landing of Augustine and his forty Roman priests in 597 English soil nourished the pure Germanic idea in government unhindered. The county meeting had come to maturity—a meeting where there sat representatives from each township, speaking and voting for their constituents. The Germanic idea, beaten in its native forests, had flourished here in the seclusion of the British Isles for almost a century and a half, and could not be killed. As the years passed one king after another arose, filled with the Roman idea of government from above, and strove to imitate his brother kings across the Channel—to re-establish the gospel of force and reassert the theory that kings derive their just rights from God and not from

men. King John dared to assert this ancient idea, and was forced to face his infuriated barons at Runnymede. Henry III reverted to it, and the grim, determined figure of Simon de Montfort scattered his forces at Lewes and then issued the summons which gave nationality to the Germanic idea in England. In 1265 the people's representatives, whom Earl Simon had summoned, assembled at Westminster, and the idea of government by a Parliament representing all the people of England—nobility, clergy, and commonalty—took its place in history. Against it the despotic Tudors, the treacherous Stuarts, and the dull Hanoverians struggled in vain. Simon's Parliament had given an ideal of government to England which could not be moved.

Amid the conflict of the Stuarts' attempt to kill this Germanic idea the American colonies were established, and here, amid the primitive forests resembling those of its ancient birthplace, the idea of representative government developed to its fullest perfection.

As it throve here, it suffered temporary eclipse in England. Under the old Whig regency of the early Hanoverians a compromise or counterfeit theory of representative government was devised in the interest of absolutism. A man is virtually represented if his interests are represented in Parliament, it declared; which idea, said Pitt, "is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man." Pitt, with the mind of genius, could see what had happened. In England the insidious process of devolution had set in years before. First the custom of redistributing seats in Parliament according to the shifting of population had ceased. Then, as generation after generation had passed, some regions with seats in Parliament had ceased to have inhabitants to vote for members. The enemies of representative government had seen in this their opportunity to destroy, by indirect and subtle means, the institution which had successfully resisted royal force.

When George III came to the throne in 1760, he saw in this fact his chance to "be a king" in the sense of kingship by this time current in his own land of Germany. He therefore set himself the task of maintaining the existing condition in England, and of controlling by means of "rotten boroughs" the unruly Teutonic idea of his subjects. Already there had grown up a party which saw the "rotten borough" system and

"virtual representation" as Pitt saw it, and was bent upon its destruction. They saw with distinctness that representative government in England had practically ceased, and were set upon its restoration. Their eyes were open to the fact that the American colonies possessed the most truly representative institutions then in existence, and the eyes of the King were soon open to the same fact; which meant to him a danger in the way of his plan to rule England as a "real king." To break down the pure Teutonic idea as it existed in the colonies was therefore the necessary condition precedent to keeping it from reasserting itself in England.

So came the struggle which we call the American Revolution. It was not a local conflict, but a critical battle in the long world conflict between the Teutonic idea of representative government and the Roman idea of force government; and in that battle our heroes of freedom—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Morris, the Adamses, and the rest—did not hesitate to avail themselves of the assistance of the ideal despotism of the age, the monarchy of Louis XVI of France. Yorktown was not an American victory only. It was a world victory in a world conflict. Like the battle of Lewes, it meant that the Teutonic idea in government "should not perish from the earth." It was followed, as a matter of course, by the restoration of real representative government in England under the younger Pitt. The Reform Bill of 1832 would probably never have been written into the life of England without the victory of Washington and Rochambeau, the American and the Frenchman, at Yorktown. It started a new era in the history of the Teutonic idea in government. In England the representative idea was restored. In France it soon emerged again, after centuries of complete obliteration, in a revolutionary movement which shook Europe from end to end. It has since spread rapidly. Wherever the British flag has appeared the Teutonic idea has been planted and its roots carefully nourished. It is a plant of slow growth; but it is worth the trouble of careful cultivation. No man can deny the fact that, with all the faults of administration, and they are many and grave, often written in letters of blood, the flag of England and that of her own flesh and blood, the United States, have been followed always by the idea and practice of representative government. We may criticise the Boer War; but we know that as

soon as the Boers were subdued they were told to govern themselves. Men may question the propriety of American intervention in Cuba; but no one can deny that we voluntarily stood aside, after gaining full possession of the island, and invited her people to select representatives and manage their own affairs. In the elaboration of this idea one need not argue; one need only invite attention to the facts which are patent to all men. Whatever we may think of England, therefore, we know that the great Germanic idea of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" follows her flag.

But what of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia? Prussia has been throughout her history, as her greatest publicist, Professor Hans Delbrück, has phrased it, a *Kriegsstaat*. Her history is all military history. In reading it we miss the story of the glorious conflicts for the people's right to a share in the government. There are no Runnymede barons, no Simon de Montforts, no Oliver Cromwells, no Abraham Lincolns, in the history of Prussia. Slowly, but with a grim and terrible certainty, the iron hand of the Prussian war lord has brought the German nation to exactly the position to which King George III attempted to bring England and the American colonies. In Germany the Teutonic idea is dead. A mixed race, more Slavonic than Teutonic, the Prussian, has deprived the German people of their birthright. There, as Professor Cramb strikingly phrases it, "Corsica . . . has conquered Galilee." The ideals of Prussia remain to-day just what they were in the days of the Great Elector—ideals of absolute monarchy—and the German Empire has accepted them. "The German people," wrote Charles Sorel in 1912, "are governed more completely from Berlin and Potsdam than the French were governed from Paris and Versailles. In theory every part of the Empire may have a proportional share in the administration of the country; in reality, Prussia has the ultimate political and financial control." And it is to maintain and extend this half-Slavonic military despotism calling its war chief the "anointed of the Lord" that the Germans are giving their lives. In proportion as I admire the German people and reverence the Teutonic idea in government, in that proportion do I hate the mediæval philosophy of force which has undone them. Germany has a right, a birthright, to the purest form of representative government, and she

has the intelligence to administer it; but she has allowed an alien race to rule her "by divine right," and the shame of it should burn in every German heart.

In the war of the world which is now devastating Europe the issue is just what it has been upon a hundred battlefields since the Teutonic idea first appeared in the history of Europe. Do we stand for the domination of Europe by the gospel of force or by the gospel of peace? do we wish the Germanic idea in government to complete its conquest of the world? or do we wish Europe, and by degrees the world, to be dominated by the ideals of Prussia, ideals

which Bernhardt clearly expresses in these words, "There never have been, and never will be, universal rights of men," or in the more terrible phrase in which he denounces the idea that a weak nation has the same right to live as a powerful and vigorous nation, as "a presumptuous encroachment on the natural laws of development"?

In our prayers for peace, may we not justly pray that God will open the eyes of the great Germanic race to the real meaning of the war which they are waging with such pitiful heroism? For when their eyes are once open the "war lord" will find his cohorts lacking for the task of denying "the rights of man."

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE WAR

VII—THE MAGYARS

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

BEGINNINGS. Sitting on the bank of the Danube at Budapest on a summer evening in 1913, a gifted young Hungarian was talking about possible independence for his country. "What do you think of it?" said he. "You see that rowboat floating alongside the steamer?" was the answer: "this is not the time or place for rowboats." The logic was simple enough; the Hungarians are ten million people embedded in half an empire of twenty-one millions, in a whole empire of fifty-two millions, in a military and political combination of Germany and Austria-Hungary counting one hundred and seventeen millions, and in a European population of four hundred and five millions. How can they be independent?

Nevertheless the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary is a marvel. No race in Europe has shown more endurance, more brilliancy, more of the spirit of ruling, than these Hungarians, who are the only people of undoubted Asiatic origin west of Finland and some parts of Russia. The Magyars, as they prefer to call themselves, first appeared on the European horizon in the neighborhood of the year 900, just when the foundations were being laid for the later kingdoms of France and Germany. They were Finnish nomads, pushed westward by one of those terrific billows which from

time to time surged from the interior of Asia into Europe; and they are not to be confounded with their kinsmen, the Huns, who nearly five centuries earlier smashed in the frontiers of the Roman Empire. The Magyars were horsemen, and selected the great plain of the middle Danube and its tributaries as their habitat—a broad and fruitful region adapted to grain and cattle. The neighboring Germanic and Slav tribes moved hither and thither, but the Magyars are still in possession of the land which they first conquered.

Hungarian Kings. Their first king was the chieftain Arpad, who founded a dynasty. A century later—almost exactly the year 1000—the Christian King Stephen chose between the Greek and Roman branches of the Christian Church, and adopted the Western type as the state religion. To this day the Magyars and their neighbors the Poles are the outposts of the Church of Rome in eastern Europe. Almost from the beginning great nobles established themselves in fortified castles, and were the first of those generations of "magnates" who have always been more characteristic of the country than its kings. This island of Asiatics became one of the great bulwarks of Western civilization, and time after time received the shock of Mongol and Turk invasions, thus protecting

Austria and Germany. For a time they pushed southward, and the rule of their kings extended far beyond the Danube. Hence to this day the Hungarians occasionally talk about the "reoccupation" of Bosnia and Servia and Bulgaria.

The powerful nobles, with great landed estates, in the year 1222 exacted from their King the so-called "Golden Bull," in which their privileges were recognized, much as they were at almost exactly the same date by the Magna Charta in England. Kings were several times elected by the Diet or Assembly of the nobles. In this period begins the settlement of Germans on the southeast border of Hungary, in the mountain district now called "Siebenbürgen"—"the Seven Castles"—where they protected the frontier and where their descendants still live.

Turks and Hapsburgs. Hungary was very turbulent and divided, fighting with its neighbors all around the rim, and in the intervals indulging in the pastime of civil war. This weakness invited the Turkish invasions. For more than four hundred years the Hungarians fought the Turks; in the famous battle of Mohács in 1526 the Hungarian army was destroyed. For about two centuries a considerable part of their territory was under Turkish domination, though the people kept their religion and local institutions. This crisis was complicated by the Protestant Reformation, which extended to Hungary. For a long time a third to a half of the people were Protestants; and there are still four million people of that faith in Hungary and its dependencies.

The last Turkish wave broke against the walls of Vienna in 1683, and for more than two hundred years the Hungarians were in the front rank of the enemies who were pushing the Turks out of Europe. In 1687 the Hungarians formally accepted as their royal family the Hapsburgs of Austria. Ever since that date the Archduke of Austria and the Apostolic King of Hungary have been the same person. The Hungarian nobility was almost crushed; but when Maria Theresa was attacked by Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1742, she appealed to the chivalry of her Magyar nobles and they stood by her. Already in 1723 had been framed an "Ausgleich," or fundamental agreement, often called the Pragmatic Sanction, which recognized Hungary as a separate kingdom, but forever united with Austria through a common sovereign.

Obstacles to Independence. The borders of the Magyar power had long been extended over neighboring lands, especially Transylvania, occupied in part by Rumanians and in part by Germans; and Croatia and Slavonia, which gave a front on the Adriatic, on which of late years has been constructed the port of Fiume. In the north also were many Slavic settlements, especially in the Carpathian Mountains. These outlying districts were commonly not considered parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and sometimes had separate kings or governors, such as the "Ban of Croatia." Transylvania, with its Saxons, among whom still persist many of the customs of the German peasantry of five centuries ago, was until quite recently a separate province.

Though in theory an independent kingdom, retaining its own Parliament, laws, and military system, in reality for more than two hundred years Hungary has been compelled to follow the lead of Austria—first of all, because of its small population. The awful Turkish wars had on Hungary the effect of the Thirty Years' War on Germany, an effect which the present war of 1914 may perhaps have on several countries. When the close adherence of Hungary to Austria began, the nation, once rich and prosperous, had been reduced by the misery of the Turkish wars to a population of two millions, of whom only one million were Hungarians. The country had lost not only population, but wealth, organization, and culture. When the Magyars began to grow again, they found themselves like the homesteaders on the upper Missouri River, who (according to geologists) took up their farms ten thousand years too late, after the river had cut down so deep that they could not get its water onto their land by irrigation. The Magyars started again in the great contest of European Powers for national greatness when their neighbors were already well grown; and from that day to this, notwithstanding the genius of the people, the nation has never had a sufficient population to vie with Austria or Germany or Russia.

Attempts to Germanize. Here comes in a bitter part of the relations between the twin Powers. The Hapsburgs are German by descent, history, tradition, and interest. They are German sovereigns in Austria, and equally German sovereigns in Hungary and the Hungarian lands. Their culture is German, their policy is German; as late as 1806

they still bore the additional title of German Emperor in the Realm. Till Prussia ousted them in 1866 the Austrians were more significant in southern and western Germany than the Prussians.

Naturally they wanted the support of all their subjects in this strife to maintain Germanization, and their policy was to Germanize the Hungarian. Was it not manifestly a convenience to all concerned to have one official language, one culture, one spirit? Fortunately for the picturesqueness of the world and for the liveliness of modern history, you can no more turn Hungarians into Germans than you can turn East Indians into Englishmen. There is a free swing, a lofty indifference, about a Hungarian magnate that cannot accord with the veneration for royalty which is felt by the Austrian or German of high rank. Having been without kings of the Hungarian race most of the time for four hundred years, the kingly quality is taken up and distributed among the great nobles, whose steadfast tradition is, not to be bound by tradition. To the most loyal Hungarians the Emperor is, after all, a Viennese, a visitor who sometimes occupies the enormous palace that crowns the ancient hillside at Budapest.

The efforts to Germanize the Magyars have therefore been complete failures. The Hungarian grandees and the Hungarian peasants still like their national customs. To our minds it is droll to see a man wearing a derby hat and a white skirt guiding the plow behind the oxen. The magnates still wear their immensely picturesque and manly costume on great occasions. The educated Hungarians learn German as they learn French and English, because it is a part of culture to know foreign literatures and to mingle with foreigners; but their mother tongue is always Hungarian. They are proud of a language which is excessively difficult for other Europeans, and is in its structure more like Finnish than anything else, yet which is the medium of a great literature. They are proud of, they cultivate, they teach to their children, the traditions of the past greatness of Hungary. No nation in Europe has a stronger consciousness of being the select race among all races. Ever since the year 900 they have striven to make Hungary count in the affairs of the world.

Revolution of 1848. In 1848, when Paris, Berlin, and Vienna were in the hands of the revolutionists, and when the Austrian Government seemed falling to pieces, the Hun-

garians made the last of several attempts to throw off the kingship of the Hapsburgs, and at the same time to set up a rival power. Since they had no native royal family, and none of the magnates was sufficiently great and powerful to found a new dynasty, they organized a republic. Democracy was popular in Europe in 1848, though Hungary hardly seemed the field for a popular movement, for it was a land of inequalities, as it is to-day; enormously rich owners of estates live side by side with peasants of the Magyar race. The great political leader of the time, Kossuth, was a Slav in origin. In fact, the Hungarian race has for ages been enriched by people of other races who have, so to speak, "joined the order," Magyarized their names, taken on the language, and identified themselves with the ruling race. You meet no stronger or abler Magyars than some of the descendants of Croatsians, Saxons, and Poles.

Notwithstanding these varieties of social conditions, Hungary is a country in which the upper and the lower classes pull together in times of stress; and the revolution was a genuine national movement. A provisional republican government was set up; armies were raised; President Polk sent Dudley Mann as Commissioner from the United States, with instructions to recognize the new republic if in his judgment it was likely to be permanent.

Unfortunately for the Magyars, they were not all of the Kingdom of Hungary. Croatia and Transylvania did not relish the idea of passing under their complete control, and stood by the young Emperor, Francis Joseph. He soon took the upper hand in Austria, and called in the Russians to aid him. Still the Hungarians fought for months, till overpowered by numbers; then the revolution collapsed and the leaders fled. Kossuth came to the United States, and there are people still living who remember to have heard him speak, holding out his fist, and saying, "I have held the Emperor Francis Joseph within that hand!" It was no time for new rowboats then, any more than now; and it is doubtful whether an independent Hungarian republic could have maintained itself in the midst of the crush and impact between Eastern and Western Powers.

The Dual Monarchy. For a time Hungary was treated as simply a province of the Empire, without a constitution, without a Parliament, almost without rights. But neither defeat nor arbitrary government could

break her spirit. When the Austrian Empire began to crumble, when, in 1859, Napoleon III defeated the Austrians in north Italy and turned over Lombardy to the King of Sardinia, the immediate result was the creation, in 1860, of the Kingdom of Italy, which has ever since been the rival of Austria. Nevertheless, in 1866 the Hungarians could have no separate policy toward Prussia, and they shared the war and the defeat. As a result, Austria was pushed out of the German Empire, but it was understood that the future of the Empire was to be sought toward the southeast, and Hungary was at last admitted, not as a vassal or dependent state, but as a member of the "Dual Monarchy." In 1867, by a new "Ausgleich," the Empire was rearranged into two groups, which for a short distance were separated by the little river Leitha, which flows into the Danube not far below Vienna. Hence the western group is often, though unofficially, called "Cis-Leithia;" the eastern or Hungarian group is "Trans-Leithia." Trans-Leithia included, besides the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia and Slavonia, but not Galicia, which forms a narrow belt of Austrian territory between Russia and Hungary. The greater Hungary or Trans-Leithia possesses a separate Parliament, ministry, educational system, post-office, treasury, and national militia ("Honved"). The two halves of the Empire have a common Foreign Office and foreign policy, and the cost of the army and navy is a common charge. To regulate these general affairs committees of the Parliaments of the two halves of the Empire meet together as "delegations." That is the system under which Austria-Hungary is governed at this moment.

The Race Question. Long before the revolution of 1848 the Hungarians had begun to extend the blessings of their culture to the non-Hungarian elements in their own country by making the Hungarian language the official and school language in the main Kingdom of Hungary, and by limiting, so far as possible, the representation of non-Hungarian races in Parliament. In a word, they subjected the other races to exactly the treatment which the Magyars had so resented when attempted by the Austrians upon themselves. The Magyar point of view is perfectly clear; they are the strongest, most vigorous, and most gifted element in Trans-Leithia; they strongly desire to take a bolder position within the Empire; they

have for several years been talking of compelling Austria to make a new "Ausgleich," under which they would have the right to lay protective duties against Austrian manufactures; they keenly resent the management of foreign affairs practically by the Cis-Leithian Germans. They want to enlarge their power by concentrating all the races within their dominions into one people, speaking the same language and having the same aims.

Against this ambition is the stubborn fact that in Trans-Leithia live two million Germans, three million Rumanians, and five and a half million Slavs of various kinds; every one of those elements is determined, whatever happens, not to be Magyarized. So far as they could, the Hungarians have determinedly and skillfully pushed their language in schools and courts. If you address a letter to the town of Semlin, which has borne that name for ages, it probably will not be delivered because the Hungarian postal officials call it Zimony. Multitudes of children whose families have for thirty generations spoken a Slav tongue have been obliged to learn Hungarian, which they obstinately refuse to use. The Germans and other elements which have kept their schools and language are nevertheless under a tremendous pressure to support the Hungarian policy.

The crisis in this strain of races has come in the year 1914. The United States contains numerous members of most of the peoples in Hungary; but we get on with them without difficulty. First, they accept the one official language of the country, and nearly all their children learn it. Secondly, they are diffused throughout the country; groups of them are in this or that city, but nowhere is there a state or a district in which they are the ruling element. Thirdly, they have no claim to be considered a nationality inside the United States. They are either naturalized Americans, who have sworn to give up their allegiance to the foreign country from which they came; or they are aliens living under the protection of the United States on the same terms as other foreign residents. They claim no special privileges as Croats, or Slovaks, or Transylvanians, or Poles, or Ruthenians. They have no kindred groups of their own race just across the border in a neighboring country.

The Magyars and the War. In Trans-Leithia these conditions are reversed. Many of these race elements were on the ground as

early as the Hungarians; others have been planted by the Vienna Government in Hungary for the express purpose of curbing the Magyars. The Croats and Slovenes and Bosnians are of the same race and language as the Servians and Montenegrins. Without documentary evidence it may safely be asserted that some of those elements were so discontented that they hearkened to the voice of the agitators in the Balkans who suggested that they could be happier outside the Dual Monarchy. It is certain that the Hungarian Government in Budapest felt that there was danger, not simply of an outbreak, a little revolution, but of a breakup of their half of the Empire. They must have appealed to Vienna to prevent the dissolution of the Empire.

Notwithstanding the ancient rivalry between the Magyars and the Austrian Germans, the two races in this crisis have felt a common danger and have made a common

cause. When that combination appealed to Germany for support, it was natural and inevitable that the German people should come to the rescue. The murder of Franz Ferdinand gave point to apprehensions long felt. It would appear, therefore, that the immediate cause of the great European war is the belief of the Magyars that part of their Slav fellow-citizens were on the verge of revolution. The Magyars are a brave, spirited, and capable people who have shown astonishing intellectual power; but it has been impossible for them to bring about a union of heart and spirit with races which they consider and treat as inferiors. Independence, even the limited independence which would satisfy the Magyars, is impossible unless all the races can agree. The great qualities of the Magyars cannot save them from a difficulty felt also by Germany and Russia, the difficulty of combining recognized racial and governmental units into one strong nation.

BARRIE AT BAY: WHICH WAS BROWN?

AND WHO WAS IT THAT ESCAPED DOWN THE ELEVATOR—AN
INTERVIEW ON THE WAR

During Sir James Barrie's recent visit to this country the following interview was published on the editorial page of the New York "Times," from which we reprint it with the courteous permission of the editor of that journal. The unusual position which the "Times" gave this interview—reportorial articles are not ordinarily allowed to encroach upon the editor's own particular preserve—indicates that the "Times" thought the reporter had succeeded in seeing clearly into Barrie's mind, although he appears to have failed to see him in person. We think we know who the reporter was. His name, we believe, is singularly similar to that of the delightful author of "The Little Minister" and "Peter Pan." At any rate, whoever wrote the interview, those who read it will have as definite an idea of Barrie's kindness and whimsical humor as if they had talked with the man himself.—THE EDITORS.

AS our reporter entered Sir James Barrie's hotel room by one door, the next door softly closed.

I was alone [writes our reporter]. I sprang into the corridor and had just time to see him fling himself down the elevator. Then I understood what he had meant when he said on the telephone that he would be ready for me at 10:30.

I returned thoughtfully to the room, where I found myself no longer alone. Sir James Barrie's "man" was there: a stolid

Londoner, name of Brown, who told me he was visiting America for the first time.

"Sir James is very sorry, but has been called away," he assured me without moving a muscle. Then he added, "But this is the pipe," and he placed a pipe of the largest size on the table.

"The pipe he smokes?" I asked.

Brown is evidently a very truthful man, for he hesitated. "That is the interview pipe," he explained. "When we decided to come to America, Sir James said he would have to

be interviewed, and that it would be wise to bring something with us for the interviewers to take notice of. So he told me to buy the biggest pipe I could find, and he practiced holding it in his mouth in his cabin on the way across. He is very pleased with the way the gentlemen of the press have taken notice of it."

"So that is not the pipe he really smokes?" I said, perceiving I was on the verge of a grand discovery. "I suppose he actually smokes an ordinary small pipe."

Again Brown hesitated, but again truth prevailed.

"He does not smoke any pipe," he said, "nor cigars, nor cigarettes; he never smokes at all; he just puts that one in his mouth to help the interviewers."

"It has the appearance of having been smoked?" I pointed out.

"I blackened it for him," the faithful fellow replied.

"But he has written a book in praise of My Lady Nicotine."

"So I have heard," Brown said, guardedly. "I think that was when he was hard up and had to write what people wanted; but he never could abide smoking himself. Years after he wrote the book he read it; he had quite forgotten it, and he was so attracted by what it said about the delights of tobacco that he tried a cigarette. But it was no good; the mere smell disgusted him."

"Odd that he should forget his own book," I said.

"He forgets them all," said Brown. "There is this Peter Pan foolishness, for instance. I have heard people talking to him about that play and mentioning parts in it they liked, and he tried to edge them off the subject. They think it is his shyness, but I know it is because he has forgotten the bits they are speaking about. Before strangers call on him I have seen him reading one of his own books hurriedly, so as to be able to talk about it if that is their wish. But he gets mixed up and thinks that the Little Minister was married to Wendy."

"Almost looks as if he hadn't written his own works," I said.

"Almost," Brown admitted, uncomfortably.

I asked a leading question. "You don't suppose," I said, "that any one writes them for him? Such things have been. You don't write them for him by any chance, just as you blackened the pipe, you know?"

Brown assured me stolidly that he did not.

Suddenly, whether to get away from a troublesome subject I cannot say, he vouchsafed me a startling piece of information. "The German Kaiser was on our boat coming across," he said.

"Sure?" I asked, wetting my pencil.

He told me he had Sir James's word for it. There was on board, it seems, a very small, shrunken gentleman with a pronounced waist and tiny, turned-up mustache, who strutted along the deck trying to look fierce and got in the other passengers' way to their annoyance until Sir James discovered that he was the Kaiser Reduced to Life Size. After that Sir James liked to sit with him and talk to him.

Sir James is a great admirer of the Kaiser, though he has not, like Mr. Carnegie, had the pleasure of meeting him in society. When he read in the papers on arriving here that the Kaiser had wept over the destruction of Louvain, he told Brown a story. It was of a friend who had gone to an oculist to be cured of some disease in one eye. Years afterward he heard that the oculist's son had been killed in some Indian war, and he called on the oculist to commiserate with him.

"You cured my eye," he said to him, "and when I read of your loss I wept for you, sir; I wept for you with that eye."

"Sir James," Brown explained, "is of a very sympathetic nature, and he wondered which eye it was that the Kaiser wept with."

I asked Brown what his own views were about the war, and before replying he pulled a paper from his pocket and scanned it. "We are strictly neutral," he then replied.

"Is that what is written on the paper?" I asked. He admitted that Sir James had written out for him the correct replies to possible questions. "Why was he neutral?" I asked, and he again found the reply on the piece of paper: "Because it is the President's wish."

So anxious, I discovered, is Sir James to follow the President's bidding that he has enjoined Brown to be neutral on all other subjects besides the war; to express no preference on matters of food, for instance, and always to eat oysters and clams alternately, so that there can be no ill-feeling. Also to walk in the middle of the streets lest he should seem to be favoring either sidewalk, and to be very cautious about admitting that one building in New York is higher than another. I assured him that the Woolworth Building was the highest, but he replied po-

lately that "he was sure the President would prefer him to remain neutral." I naturally asked if Sir James had given him any further instructions as to proper behavior in America, and it seems that he had done so. They amount, I gather, to this, that Americans have a sense of humor, which they employ, when they can, to the visitor's undoing.

"When we reach New York," Sir James seems to have told Brown in effect, "we shall be met by reporters who will pretend that America is eager to be instructed by us as to the causes and progress of the war; then, if we are fools enough to think that America cannot make up its mind for itself, we shall fall into the trap and preach to them, and all the time they are taking down our observations they will be saying to themselves, 'Pompous asses!'"

"It is a sort of game between us and the reporters. Our aim is to make them think we are bigger than we are, and theirs is to make us smaller than we are; and any chance we have of succeeding is to hold our tongues, while they will probably succeed if they make us jabber. Above all, oh, Brown, if you write to the papers giving your views of why we are at war—and if you don't you will be the only person who hasn't—don't be lured into slinging vulgar abuse at our opponents, lest America take you for another university professor."

There is, I learned, only one person in America about whom it is impossible, even in Sir James's opinion, to preserve a neutral attitude. This is the German Ambassador, whose splendid work for England day by

day and in every paper and to all reporters cannot, Sir James thinks, be too cordially recognized. Brown has been told to look upon the German Ambassador as England's greatest asset in America just now, and to hope heartily that he will be long spared to carry on his admirable work.

Lastly, it was pleasant to find that Brown has not a spark of sympathy with those who say that, because Germany has destroyed art treasures in Belgium and France, the Allies should retaliate with similar rudeness if they reach Berlin. He holds that if for any reason best known to themselves (such as the wish for a sunnier location) the Hohenzollerns should by and by vacate their present residence, a nice villa should be provided for them, and that all the ancestral statues in the Sieges-Allee should be conveyed to it intact, and perhaps put up in the back garden. There the Junkers could drop in of an evening, on the way home from their offices, and chat pleasantly of old times. Brown thinks they should be allowed to retain all their iron crosses, and even given some more, with which, after smart use of their pocket combs, they would cut no end of a dash among the nursemaids.

As for the pipe, I was informed that it had now done its work, and I could take it away as a keepsake. I took it, but wondered afterward at Brown's thinking he had the right to give it to me.

A disquieting feeling has since come over me that perhaps it was Sir James I had been interviewing all the time, and Brown who had escaped down the elevator.

THE UNOCCUPIED MIND

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE

A FEW months ago, shortly after the beginning of the second half-year in one of our principal Eastern universities, I was approached by a veteran member of the professorial staff, who confided to me that he was much troubled about the condition of his health.

"As you know," said he, "I have just returned from a sabbatical tour of Europe, the first long vacation I have taken for years. When I left home, I was feeling first-rate, but for various reasons I did not really enjoy my

stay abroad, and since beginning work again I find that I am far from well. Though I formerly could study far into the night without experiencing ill effects, I now become exhausted from slight effort; I cannot concentrate my attention, and I have a strange dread of meeting my classes.

"What alarms me most of all is the fact that I am almost continually tormented by a peculiar numbness and tingling of my whole left side. It is worse in the arm and leg, but I feel it even in my face. I fear the

truth of the matter is that I have long been overworking and am now paying the penalty. Do you suppose this tingling and numbness can be the forerunner of an attack of paralysis?"

"Not at all," I hastened to assure him. "It is merely a sign that your nervous system is out of gear, and that you had better pay a visit to a first-class neurologist."

I named a specialist of my acquaintance, and, after a few more words to relieve his anxiety, bade him good-morning. Two weeks passed before I met him again, when I was both surprised and gratified by the marked change for the better in his appearance. The look of worry was gone from his eyes, he greeted me with his old-time enthusiasm, and I observed that he carried a well-filled bag of books.

"Ah," I said, pointing to the books, "the doctor evidently didn't order you to stop work entirely."

"Why, no," was his beaming reply. "On the contrary, he told me that the best thing I could possibly do was to get back into my old habit of pegging away. I certainly am eternally obliged to you for sending me to him. He gave me a thorough examination, a tonic, and some good advice, and already I feel nearly as well as ever. My nervousness, it seems, was only a reaction from the sudden cessation of work during my sojourn in Europe. I cannot understand, though, how such a simple cause could have upset me so greatly."

I could have enlightened him on this point, but did not deem the moment propitious, as my explanation might have provoked a storm of nerve-exhausting wrath. For, as a matter of fact, the whole trouble with my friend the professor had been due to the vacuity of his mind. A man of truly brilliant achievement in his chosen department of study, he had specialized so exclusively, had concentrated his thoughts so intently on one definite set of problems, that when the opportunity and occasion arose for temporarily abandoning his labors he had absolutely no other interest with which to occupy himself. As a result his energy became, so to speak, short-circuited; instead of being externally expended in pleasurable and profitable pursuits, it wasted itself in harmful internal activity that took the form of what psychologists call "morbid introspection."

For perhaps the first time in his life, and wholly because his mind had no other com-

elling object of attention, the vacationizing professor began to take note of his mental states and of the bodily sensations to which, like most people, he ordinarily paid no heed whatever. Now, it is a scientifically established truth, not only that every part of the body is perpetually transmitting sensations to the brain, but also that if the attention be turned to any particular part the sensations transmitted from it tend to become exaggerated. For example, to quote one eminent medical authority, "If we think of the point of our big toe on the right foot, we find, though we were totally unaware of it a moment before, that a certain pressure is being exerted in it. If we continue to think of it, queer feelings develop in it. We may get a sense of numbness that proceeds up along the tendons that lead to it. We can follow them up to the insertion of the muscles in the shin. If we dwell on the subject, we have curious prickly sensations and numb feelings, all of which were there and were neglected a minute before, but now are acutely felt." Similarly, so-called nervous indigestion, chronic insomnia, or a general "neurasthenic" condition may be developed by this process of over-attention to the sensations of the physical organism—a process, be it noted, which would never come into activity were not the mind vacant.

This, I can say without hesitation, is the correct explanation of the state of affairs that so alarmed my professorial friend, just as it is the explanation of thousands of other instances of "nervous breakdown." Perhaps its most striking exemplification is found in the often-repeated case of the business man who, retiring after a long, arduous, and successful career, experiences within a few months a seemingly inexplicable failure in health. The tendency is to see in this the inevitable consequence of the "overwork" in which he has been indulging all his life. In reality, it was the alleged overwork that enabled him to continue hale and hearty until the day of his retirement, for his business interests so filled his mind that he had neither time nor desire for excessive preoccupation with thoughts of self. When, however, he changed his mode of life, and with the change dropped all thought of the one thing that really interested him, he almost necessarily became abnormally self-centered, from sheer lack of anything other than his personal feelings about which to think.

To be sure, he might still have saved him-

self by following the example of Dr. Johnson's retired soap-boiler, who, after months of fuming and fretting in idleness, begged from the man to whom he had sold his business the privilege of spending a certain time each day watching the manufacture of soap. This request of course testified to a lamentable narrowness of interest, but it also testified to a lively appreciation of the importance of being vitally interested in something if one would remain well. And unquestionably there is no lesson which the world more needs to learn than this basic fact of mental occupation as a safeguard to health. Vacuity of mind, I need hardly point out, is by no means confined to the narrow specialist off for a vacation or the business man who has ceased his money-making activities. Every class in society, from Fifth Avenue to the East Side, from Wall Street to the most isolated rural community, abounds in people who, if they were to subject themselves to an honest self-examination, would be obliged to confess that they have muddled along all their lives without really using their minds—that is to say, without taking a keen, sustained, thought-stimulating interest in anything.

What, quite frequently, they have done, from an instinctive desire to "get away from themselves," but ignorant of the proper course to pursue, is to grasp feverishly at all sorts of thought-killing diversions—the frothy novel, the musical comedy, the tango, the whisky bottle. But, for the very reason that these are not of a character to inspire an abiding interest, their luckless devotees still find themselves perpetually besieged by thoughts of self. Hence, in appalling numbers, they soon or late make their way to the physician's office to be treated for "nerves," or else drift into ruinous excesses which hurry them to an untimely grave. Many a man, there can be no doubt, becomes a drunkard wholly from lack of mental resources. Time hanging heavy on his hands, he takes a drink because he "must do something," and thus, all unwittingly, he allows the drink habit to grow on him. My own belief, indeed, is that most of the vice, as well as most of the nervousness, of which we hear so much to-day, would soon become non-existent if people only appreciated the menace of the vacant mind and bestirred themselves to find some fitting and attractive subject upon which to exercise their reasoning powers.

I am reminded at this point of the seemingly miraculous cure of a victim of alcoholism

effected by a friend of mine, a medical psychologist of international reputation. His patient was a young man of thirty-two, with a deplorable history of drunkenness on both sides of his family, and himself an alcoholic since the age of twenty. Weak-willed, ambitionless, and almost constantly under the influence of liquor, his case seemed so hopeless that my friend at first was reluctant to treat him, deeming the fee he would have to charge a useless drain on the young man's relatives. At their insistence he finally took him in hand, and for upward of a year gave him psychotherapeutic treatment designed to blot out the craving for strong drink. At the same time he made a careful study of the young fellow's temperament and characteristics, with a view to helping him to find some congenial life activity. As he shrewdly put it:

"If this young man's thirst for alcohol is to be permanently quenched, it can only be by replacing the desire for drink with a desire for achievement in some field of effort that will engrossingly occupy his mind."

And, in fact, a day came when, with an eye that was clear and a hand that no longer trembled, the whilom dipsomaniac expressed an earnest desire to go to work. He had already shown in a small way certain indications of executive ability, and a place was found for him in the office of a large factory. From the outset he attacked his duties with enthusiasm, displaying unexpected energy and trustworthiness. To-day, freed completely from the thrall of King Alcohol, he holds a most responsible managerial position, is in receipt of a handsome salary, and justly accounts himself one of the happiest and most fortunate of men.

This is a striking illustration of the possibility of curing serious afflictions by the comparatively simple method of "mind fertilization," which is coming more and more into use among specialists in the treatment of functional nervous and mental disorders. Even when dealing with complicated cases of hysteria and other psycho-neuroses requiring the application of delicate psychological processes to ascertain and eradicate the special causes at work in each individual case, the best physicians nowadays supplement their therapeutic technique by a systematic attempt to "energize" their patients mentally, and in this way prevent any danger of relapse through the disintegrating effects of the introspection born of emptiness of mind. Thus the director of one well-known New England

private sanitarium for the hysterical and neurasthenic—the same medical psychologist, by the way, who so successfully handled the case of alcoholism just cited—makes it a point to have his patients “doing something interesting” almost all the day. In the evening he gathers them about him in a large living-room, reads to them from classical authors, encourages questioning and discussion, then starts them playing games, and at ten o’clock packs them off to bed.

The one thing he absolutely prohibits is any exchange of confidences regarding the particular ailments from which they are suffering. Any patient who persists in talking of his ills to other patients is ruthlessly expelled from the sanitarium. The director’s great endeavor, in fine, is to get his charges thinking about other subjects than themselves, and to provide their minds with really nourishing food. Under this regimen they live together in happy unity; to a stranger going among them, as I have often done, they betray not the slightest signs of abnormality; and in time they are able, not merely to mingle once more in society, but to take up their former vocations with a zeal and ability unknown to them before. Or, if they are so situated that they do not have to earn a living, they return to the outer world equipped with some “hobby” that affords an adequate outlet for the energy that might otherwise exhaust itself in disastrous self-communing.

For the matter of that, many modern neurologists have found that the cultivation of “hobbies” often is quite sufficient in itself to restore to health the nervously unstrung; and, more than this, they earnestly advocate the “hobby habit” as a preventive of nervous or mental breakdown. “Let a man,” they argue, “develop at least two great interests—an ardent interest in his work, and an almost equally ardent interest in some hobby—and he may confidently expect to accomplish much, and to accomplish it without danger to his health. For in the intervals when he rests from his labors he will always have in his hobby an antidote to the boredom that exhausts and enfeebles.” Nor does this argument rest on theory alone. It is amply supported by the interesting circumstance that many of the hardest-working and longest-living of men are known to have been zealous hobby-riders.

Most significant is the extent to which hobbies have long been cultivated by medical men themselves. The names of Oliver Wen-

dell Holmes, Weir Mitchell, and Conan Doyle rise at once into mind as particularly distinguished representatives of a long line of physicians who have diligently prosecuted a hobby for the writing of novels or poetry. Richard Caton, the famous English physician, is almost fully as famous an authority on the Æsculapian temples of Greece, to the study of which he devoted his summers for more than thirty years. Joseph Leidy was rated the foremost palæontologist of his day. Samuel Morton, developing a hobby for accumulating skulls, formed a collection which became the basis of the largest collection of skulls in the world, stored in the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia. Another Philadelphia physician, Thomas B. Wilson, enriched the same institution by adding to it a wonderful collection of birds. The eminent Dr. Parry combined with faithful attendance to his professional duties a hobby for studying art, music, and poetry. Sir Hans Sloane collected fifty thousand books and twenty-three thousand medals and coins. Cane collecting is the hobby of one present-day American physician; another breeds fancy fishes; a third, Dr. Roland G. Curtin, of Philadelphia, has at various times made special collections of book-plates, autographs, Continental currency, Indian canoe paddles, sharp-pointed weapons, and natural science specimens. Perhaps most impressive of all is the case of Rudolf Virchow, as narrated by Dr. James J. Walsh:

“For more than a year I lived close to the great German pathologist Virchow, and found that his varied interests were probably the secret of his power to devote himself to work for many hours a day, take only a small amount of sleep, and yet live healthily and happily for over eighty years. Frequently he did not leave the Prussian Legislature until 1 A.M., or even later, and yet he seldom failed to be at his laboratory before 7:30 o’clock in the morning, though it was several miles from his home and took over half an hour to get there. Besides pathology he was deeply interested in anthropology and in most of the biological sciences, and his favorite hobby was the practical care of the health of the city of Berlin. From the time that Berlin, just after the Franco-Prussian War, began to grow out of the half-million provincial town that it was into the great world capital that it became, Virchow had charge of the health of the men engaged on the sewer farms of the city. . . . His visits to

the farms, his planning for the prevention of the spread of disease, his deep interest in the reports and the constant improvement of conditions, instead of hampering his other intellectual activity by wasting brain force, probably proved restful by diverting the blood stream away to the cells that occupied themselves with this other and very different problem, and so proved a benefit, not an evil."

And, Dr. Walsh might well have added, they proved beneficial by keeping Virchow so busy that he had no time to waste in thinking about himself. This, let me insist, is the therapeutic value of hobbies, as demonstrated both by the experience of the many long-lived great men who have had hobbies and by the results of actual trial of the "hobby cure." I know of one young woman, a typical nervous invalid, who persisted in her invalidism until she fell into the hands of a physician wise enough to see that all she needed was a self-escaping interest. At his suggestion she began a systematic study of Oriental rugs, developed an intense enthusiasm for this subject, and soon was enjoying life like any normal, healthy woman. Another "nervous patient," a middle-aged man of wealth and social prominence, has been in the best of health since a discerning friend, recognizing his need for self-forgetfulness, interested him in the Boy Scout movement. A hobby for charity work has been the salvation of many a neurasthenic, while many another has been helped back to health by some collection hobby—the collecting of books, pictures, coins, stamps, and so forth.

To be sure, there is such a thing as riding a hobby to death—that is, allowing it to become a mischievous obsession. I used to know a little wizened-up gentleman who in early life had been a promising physician. As plenty of other men have done before and since, he took up checker-playing as a means of mental relaxation. Little by little, without clearly appreciating it, he allowed his interest in checkers to dominate his interest in medical work, and when I knew him he had long since retired from the practice of medicine and was

spending almost every waking moment at the checker-board. Withal, and testifying eloquently to the health-preserving virtue of hobbies, he was as spry and energetic a little old man as one could meet anywhere, always in good spirits, and blessed with marvelous keenness of mind.

That, however, he had actually lost much through over-devotion to his hobby cannot be denied. Most people, fortunately, are in little danger of being similarly swept off their feet. And, on the other hand, devotion to a hobby may, in addition to benefiting the health, so enlarge the intellectual powers of the hobby-rider as to open to him unexpected opportunities for personal advancement and social usefulness. Among a boat-load of immigrants from Germany to the United States there once was a poor young man who, after sundry adventures in quest of a livelihood, settled in Kansas City, where, near the public library, he established a small stand for the sale of fruit and peanuts. This was his vocation; his avocation, or hobby, was the study of languages, at which he worked with admirable diligence in the public library, sometimes closing his peanut-stand for hours when absorbed in the solution of a specially fascinating linguistic problem.

A day came when the University of Missouri, needing an additional instructor in languages, sent an emissary to the Kansas City librarian, with the request that the latter name a good man for the post. "The only man I can honestly recommend at this moment," said the librarian, "is that foreigner yonder," and he pointed to the young immigrant, toiling eagerly over a huge tome. A few minutes' conversation satisfied the University's representative that the librarian's judgment was excellent, and a little later the peanut-vender closed his stand for all time and began teaching. To-day he is one of the really shining lights of Harvard University.

By all means, then, let us cultivate some hobby. In any event, if we would retain our health and happiness, let us always remember that the most dangerous thing we can have about us is a vacant mind.

THE NEW BOOKS

OUT OF MANY NOVELS

I

Out of the mass of commonplace novels, which bear the same relation to literature that sensational newspapers bear to serious journalism, a few stories claim attention as sincere and genuine works of the art which, at its best, transcribes life intimately and dramatically. The most admirable and vital work in this field is not always the most immediately successful; though the idea that a popular novel must be an inferior novel is either the refuge of the unsuccessful or the cynicism of the dilettante. Sooner or later a novel of vital power finds its readers; many stories of serious aim fail, not because they are serious, but because they are deficient in vitality.

Mrs. Watts always has a serious purpose: she means to tell the truth about life. Her novels have been rich in original observation and in vigorous character-drawing. Her style, too, is vivacious and intimate; she stays with her subjects, and her readers live in their atmosphere and see them at close range. The Central West has been studied many times in its more obvious and spectacular aspects; Mrs. Watts has given us studies of men and women who express not so much the energy of the section as its traditions of social refinement; she has done for her section what Miss Jewett did for New England.

But her range of portraiture has not been narrow, and her studies of decaying gentility, of the old families run to seed, have been supplemented by skillful sketches of those who are in the process of emerging socially. "The Rise of Jennie Cushing"¹ is a carefully drawn portrait of a girl born in the slums, educated in a reformatory, and disciplined by going into service in a family of easy-going, "slack" farmers; her further preparation for life is gained in a manicure "parlor" and as a lady's maid. The circumstances are adverse, and the girl has less definite moral teaching than a heathen; there is a great deal of paganism in American society, and Jennie Cushing grows up in its atmosphere and becomes a clean-minded, honest pagan. She knows nothing about moral laws, but she has some moral instincts and a great deal of self-developed rectitude. She makes a great

mistake, largely because society has never really touched her and she has worked out her problems in isolation; she sees her mistake, accepts the consequences, and pays the price. The sub-title of "Tess," "A Pure Woman Faithfully Portrayed," might be put on the title-page of this able, interesting, and courageous story.

"The Encounter,"² which is also the work of an American woman, is as far removed in material from Mrs. Watts's novel as the crudity of social emergence in a new country is from the sophistication of Europe, and in method the contrast is equally striking. Mrs. Watts tells the story of a woman in relations with a large group of people; Anne Douglas Sedgwick describes an episode in the experience of an American girl in a pension in a small German watering-place in a little circle of six people. The construction and the presentation of the story are characteristic of a writer who has mastered her craft. There is hardly a superfluous line in the story, and the characters stand out with the utmost clearness.

It was not an easy thing to draw a portrait of an irritable man of genius who has discovered the secret of an automatic universe and is trying to torture his life to fit into his scheme, and who is in love with a young American girl at those rare moments when he is not in love with himself. The rootless American mother and daughter floating about Europe, detached from convictions and vital connections, but well-bred, cultivated, and protected to a limited extent by good taste, are studied with keen insight. There is a warm-hearted Italian woman whose intentions are better than her judgment, and there is an unworldly German of a type especially attractive in this hour of "blood and iron." The tale does not arrive anywhere, but that is proof of its fidelity to truth; the people it describes never reach definite ends.

It is pleasant to get into the romantic atmosphere after this clear-cut study of the cultivated denaturalized American, and the very title of "The Street of Seven Stars"² sets the imagination at play. We are young, ardent, and living in happy poverty in Vienna in the very first chapter. We are in bohe-

¹ The Rise of Jennie Cushing. By Mary S. Watts. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.35.

² The Encounter. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. The Century Company, New York. \$1.30.

² The Street of Seven Stars. By Mary Roberts Rinehart. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$1.25.

mia, and as innocent of conventions as children who have never known sin. The situation of the hero and the heroine is as far from the usages of sophisticated society as was Eden before Satan corrupted Eve. They are clean-minded, unworldly, lovable Americans whose integrity is so much a part of themselves that they are as unconscious of it as healthy children.

This is a pretty story of gay poverty, joy in art, and the ease of spirit which makes work a happy play. There are slums in bohemia, and there is a slum in this bohemia; but the stars are put out, not by a wicked hand, but by heavy-handed goodness blindly enforcing a law instead of wisely and tenderly revealing it. This is a charming story also for those who cannot discriminate between good and evil unless they are put in separate places and plainly labeled; and it is a wholesome story for those who are in danger of thinking that life is only another name for dull routine.

As if to reinforce this romance of youth with the confirmation of experience, comes Mr. Nicholson with "The Poet,"¹ whom everybody loves and who refuses to submit to the destruction of his ideals and takes a hand in a domestic drama which is on the edge of tragedy, but not yet hopelessly ended in the final misery of divorce. The Poet has been involved in the fortunes of two lovers, and has not only warmed his hands and heart in the glow of their happy marriage, but has found in it a deep spring of inspiration. When the great American god, Success—recovered from the ruins of a pagan past and set up in business again in a new temple of artificial marble—seduces the young man from his ideals, and the simple loyalties of love go out of his life and the home is wrecked, the Poet feels that his teaching has been discredited and does not rest until he has rekindled the fire on the hearth and revealed the lovers to themselves. It is a wholesome romance delightfully told.

If there is a conspiracy to "show up" the fallacy and shame of divorce, Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Venable are deeply involved, and "Pierre Vinton"² is as dangerous in its detection of the sophistry of divorce as "The Poet." It is not a "goody-goody" tale; on the contrary, it deals with sophisticated society folk who are experts in the knowl-

edge of good and evil. It is bright, witty, and gay in manner, but it is serious in purpose, and, without a note of ethical instruction, it drives home the double truth that marriage is a sacrament and that the real trouble with people who are divorced is that they have never been married. Pierre has been divorced simply because his wife is restless, without inward resources, and imagines that the trouble is in her condition. He submits to the legal proceedings, but knows that his marriage has not been and cannot be dissolved. He does not argue about it; he knows it. He is full of humor, he does not bore his friends, but he knows that he is, and always will be, his wife's lover and husband. In the end he convinces her, although he nearly kills himself in doing it. He not only saves his wife for himself but he saves her for herself. A light-hearted, conversational manner conveys a sane and noble ideal of marriage in this charming story.

And in an equally gay mood Mr. Williams turns the whole question of marriage so that one sees it from every side in his story in the form of a play, "And So They Were Married,"¹ which is described in its sub-title as "A Comedy of the New Woman." It is a comedy of the woman who thinks but has not reached a final conclusion; she sees so many aspects of marriage that she is confused as to the real relation between love and the formal ceremony. She stands on bed-rock in her conviction that marriage without love is profanation; but she is caught in the net of verbal definition of obligation. In the end she is married in spite of herself. "Respectability has triumphed this time," says the somewhat cynical Judge at the end; "but let society take warning and beware! beware! beware!" In this vivaciously dramatized tale emphasis rests on the real source of most of the unhappiness which culminates in divorce; it is not because of marriage, but because there has been only a sham marriage.

When a novelist knows enough about art to write about it in the vernacular and not in a dialect, and enough about artists to dramatize the artistic temperament, the reader is likely to get a story which has genuine human interest. Such a story was Charles Marriott's "What a Man Wants," published last spring; a book full of insight and suggestion in its definition of the attitude of the artistic temperament towards nature and life.

¹ The Poet. By Meredith Nicholson. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$1.30.

² Pierre Vinton. By Edward C. Venable. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$1.25.

¹ And So They Were Married. By Jesse Lynch Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$1.25.

Such a story is Mr. Thurston's "Achievement,"¹ in which the impulsion of the passion for artistic expression drives Richard Furlong from the mill on the countryside to London, to two years of wandering on the Continent, to restless experimentation, and finally to the success which is won by genius backed by a persistence which is not so much a matter of will as of temperament. The emotional experience of such a man bears directly upon his art, and Furlong is inspired as an artist and destroyed as a man by the imperious demands of his temperament for emotional expression. In such matters he knows little either of fundamental or conventional law; but he is loyal to a deep-going integrity in his nature. "Achievement" is a serious, able, and unconventional novel.

If one is in search of the latest impress of modernity, he will find it in Mr. Wells's novels; they are, as a rule, not only up to date, but some of them are so far ahead of the times that one doubts if the times will ever overtake them. They are so entirely tied to the moment that they seem to partake more largely of journalism than of literature. They are, for this reason, rarely restful, and they are often disconcerting.

In "The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman"² the possessive theory of marriage is stated in the most elementary terms. It is a literal trans-

lation of "The Taming of the Shrew" without the poetry, the imagination, or the humor of the play. Sir Isaac is an underbred and offensive plutocrat who grinds the face of the working-girl and tries to lock his beautiful young wife in a country house. She flies into rebellion, becomes a suffragette, and brings him to terms, which he respects while he is ill and weak and casts to the winds when he recovers. The heroine dips into philanthropy and persuades herself that marriage is fatal to feminine "autonomy"—an opinion which she changes later. It is needless to say that Mr. Wells never lacks courage or vigor.

"Ellenor Stoothoff" might have named her story "The Lark" instead of "The Nightingale,"³ and the very obvious joke involved in that title would have been pardonable in view of the exactness with which it would have described her clever, original, and amusing book. It tells the story of the excursion into the world of a wife and mother who feels the need of a change and who gets it with great rapidity and in many varieties. Her procedure is surprising and radical; and the fun is kept up until the very end. Probably very few people will know how to pronounce the name of the author; but that difficulty may also be taken as part of the general "larkiness" of the story.

THE READER'S VIEW

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE EUROPEAN WAR

At the outbreak of the present European conflict, our Chief Executive, true to the traditions of our Nation, published a declaration of strict neutrality, and, so far, the American people have supported the President in this position. However, there are several phases of the present titanic struggle which challenge our careful attention and must cause us seriously to consider whether or not we can afford to remain absolutely neutral in every eventuality. Such is the alignment of the Powers in the present conflict and such the magnitude of the issues that nothing short of the complete prostration of the belligerents on the one side or the other can bring about peace.

¹ Achievement. By E. Temple Thurston. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$1.35.

² The Wife of Sir Isaac Harmon. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.50.

Should the arms of the Allies prevail, Austria-Hungary will cease to be a dominating factor in the Balkans, and may see a large number of her Slavic peoples forming themselves into a confederation under the protection of Russia. Germany's dreams of European domination will be dispelled, and the smaller states of western Europe, such as Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, will feel themselves assured of their national existence.

The prestige gained by Russia will be great, but it is only blind prejudice that raises the specter of "Slavic barbarism" as a menace to the maintenance of civilization in western Europe. Success to the allied arms will mean the thorough democratization of Russia and the development by her people of the arts of peace. The gigantic fallacy underlying the so-called "Slavic menace" is the unwarranted assump-

³ The Nightingale. By Ellenor Stoothoff. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.25.

tion that the Teuton is inherently superior to the Slav. History bears out no such broad assumption.

Success to the Allies will also mean that Great Britain will have greater sea power and an augmented commerce, but it cannot be shown that this nation has ever yet exerted her vast resources in the oppression of smaller states. On the contrary, Great Britain has consistently protected smaller states against the aggressions of their more powerful neighbors.

The people of America should see no menace to them in the enlargement and extension of British political, economic, and juridical institutions, which are so much in harmony with their own.

Now let us consider briefly the other possible outcome of the war.

Should the Allies be crushed, Austria-Hungary will dominate southeastern Europe, France will be so weakened as to be relegated to the position of a second or even third rate Power, Belgium will cease to exist as a sovereign state, and Holland will soon experience the fate of her luckless neighbor.

Decisive defeat of the Allies will mean that Great Britain may have to purchase a humiliating peace at the tremendous sacrifice of her sea power, her commerce, and the fairest of her colonial possessions.

Undoubtedly, in such an event, Germany will seize upon Canada as the most suitable base for her future colonial expansion.

Will it then be a matter of indifference to Americans whether they have as neighbors a people with whom they have so much in common and with whom they have been on the most cordial terms for a full century, or, on the other hand, a people intoxicated by success in Europe and with the means and determination of establishing their militarism in the New World?

Just how far will the Monroe Doctrine apply in such a contingency?

Americans can profess a position of strict neutrality to-day, and can even tolerate an extensive pro-German propaganda in their press, because, deep down in their hearts, they feel that the Allies will ultimately prevail, and that no danger threatens America at the end of the war. However, the prospect, or even possibility, of having German militarism dominating one-half of the North American continent at the close of the war, and, in that event, the certainty of a not distant struggle between the vastly enlarged German Empire and the United States single-handed, should lead all thoughtful Americans who still prefer democracy to autocratic militarism to hail with delight the speedy and decisive triumph of the allied arms.

In a very special sense Great Britain is war-

ring to-day not merely for the preservation of the neutrality of the heroic little Belgian Kingdom, but also for the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine or the balance of power in the New World.

Such being the case, where should American sympathy be placed? F. W. B. CRAFER.

Appleton, Wisconsin.

[The writer of this letter is Professor of Sociology at Lawrence College. Editorial discussion of this subject is to be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.]

MORN, NOT MOON

Butler, in "Hudibras," did not write, as the Spectator in The Outlook of October 21 quotes him,

"Now, like a lobster boiled, the *moon*
From black to red began to turn,"

but the *morn*, not the *moon*, did the turning. Indeed, from the context, "moon" is meaningless. The satirist wrote:

"The sun had long since in the lap
Of Thetis taken out his nap,
And like a lobster boil'd the morn
From black to red began to turn."

The Outlook seems to be carefully edited, and what it says, whether we always agree with its pronouncements or not, is, I take it, what it means to say. W. S. CROUSE.

Denton, Maryland.

A FIELD GUN IN A WEEK!

In the October 7 number of The Outlook Mr. Bullard, in his article on the war, while speaking of the possibility of the exhaustion of war munitions by the combatants, states the possibility of the field artillery of the army being used up faster than it could be manufactured. He says that it takes a year to make a field gun. Though I am not familiar with artillery, I asked an artilleryman connected with the local recruiting station, and he says that a field gun can be turned out in a week, and that even the larger guns do not take anything like a year to make. I am a subscriber, and hope you will publish a paragraph correcting Mr. Bullard's statement.

Duluth, Minnesota.

GILBERT INGALLS.

[The question of how long it takes to make a field gun depends entirely on how nearly the gun is complete before you begin making it. If all the raw material is at hand, if all the various metals have been mined, reduced, and properly tempered, and all the glycerine compound for the hydraulic recoil absorber mixed, if the necessary optical instruments for the fire control are ready, and the machinery all in place, something which looked like a field gun might be turned out in a week. But ordinarily a longer time than this is spent, after the mechanism is assembled, in merely adjusting the sights.—ARTHUR BULLARD.]

BY THE WAY

The gunboat Princeton, of the American navy, while entering the harbor of Pago Pago, Samoa, ran on an uncharted rock. A pinnacle of the rock entered the Princeton's hold and prevented her slipping off and sinking in deep water. Divers succeeded, with the help of other salvage men, in keeping out the water first with canvas and then with plank sheathing. Finally they cut off the pinnacle of rock that had pierced the vessel from the ledge of which it was a part and cemented it fast in the wound it had made! Then the vessel went on its way. This remarkable achievement required several months of unremitting effort.

A college town is a pleasant place in which to pass one's declining years if one happens to have been a college president. At least so it seemed to one observer, the other day, who noticed the universal respect accorded to Dr. Dwight, formerly President of Yale University, in New Haven, when he takes his constitutional. Dr. Dwight is nearing his eighty-sixth birthday, and looks forward with confidence to the time when he can call himself a nonagenarian.

"This country," remarks Mrs. Twickembury in the "Christian Register," "is ruled by a pack of demigods." The assertion would have been indorsed, probably, by another New England Mrs. Malaprop, who said that in her opinion the corruption in politics was due to "the dormant party."

Next to Russia, the United States has more horses than any other country in the world. Combined, the two countries possess 58 per cent of the world supply. Russia must now use her millions of horses for war purposes; and the United States thus remains the great horse market for the rest of the world.

The "Century Magazine" for November appears with new typography, the pages having an open effect that will be comfortable to the eyes of many readers; others will remember with pleasure the fine standards set by the De Vinne Press in the past in the printing of this magazine and regret any change.

Michael Idvorsky Pupin, a writer in "McClure's" says, arrived at Castle Garden a penniless boy; got employment as a rubber in a Turkish bath; went to the public schools; graduated from Columbia; and is now one of the greatest of American scientists and inventors. "A single Pupin invention has made possible our modern long-distance telephone service." Incidentally, Mr. Pupin has become that rare combination—a professor in a university and a millionaire.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is trying to put out small accidental fires that may de-

velop into serious conflagrations. It supplies printed forms to its trainmen marked conspicuously, "Go Back and Put Out Fire." When the trainman discovers a blaze near the track that is not dangerous enough to justify stopping the train, he fills out the blank, locating the fire, and throws it off to the first track-walker or station agent passed.

"Life's" Lexicon of War gives these revised definitions of familiar expressions: Censorship—The art of refusing to acknowledge facts. Peace—Complete military and economic exhaustion. Stern Retaliatory Measures—An atrocity committed by ourselves. Treaty—A scrap of paper. Ultimatum—"Hands up!"

Children do not always understand the use of capital letters. The "Editor's Drawer" of "Harper's Magazine" tells this story, which well illustrates the point: Marjorie wrote a composition about "Grant's Work in the Civil War." In describing Lee's surrender she told how Lee wore his sword and was handsomely attired in full uniform; then she wrote: "Grant had on nothing but an old, ragged union suit."

Lester Wallack, as quoted in a magazine article, did not consider beauty a mere matter of face and form. "As a matter of fact," he said, "many women who have attained a great reputation for beauty have been actually very plain. Recall the pictures of the famous beauties of history: can you not, without much effort, think of a hundred women who exceed them in good looks? And still their fame is not undeserved. It has been won by charm rather than by pink cheeks and brilliant eyes." But then the famous actor went on to speak in rapturous terms of a woman who had both charm and physical perfection—Adelaide Neilson—hardly an example of his own theory.

Rice, according to the "Country Gentleman," has had a greater proportionate advance in price recently than any other food crop except sugar. It brings now two dollars a barrel more than the average of the past ten years.

"Collier's" disapproves of the submarine, as an unchivalrous engine of war. Of the recent sinking of British cruisers by a German submarine it says: "Blackbeard would understand that victory and approve it; so would Attila, so would Nero; but we should like to see a board of naval strategists trying to explain these modern methods to Sir Philip Sidney or Nelson or Bayard." "A certain lord" expressed a similar idea even more neatly:

"It was great pity, so it was,
This villainous saltpeter should be digged
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed so cowardly."